ialist Party

Choice of texts from the Ba'th Party founder's thought

Michel Aflak

Unity Freedom Socialism

CHOICE OF TEXTS FROM THE BA'TH PARTY FOUNDER'S THOUGHT

Arab Ba'th Socialist Party

CHOICE OF TEXTS FROM THE BA'TH PARTY FOUNDER'S THOUGHT

Michel Aflak

Unity Freedom Socialism

Contents

Editor's Note	7
On Arab Unity	9
Freedom and the Role of the Masses	33
Socialism	41
The Heritage	55
The Humanitarian Role of the Arab Revolution	71
The Overthrow and the Revolution	77
The Struggle	85
Problems of the Arab Struggle	93
On Imperialism and Zionism	99
Palestine	113
Egypt	119
The lesson of June and the significance of October	125
The revolutionary organisation	131
Revolutionary conduct	139
Students and youth	149
The national front	157
Foreign policy	159
On the Arab Baath movement	161

Editor's Note

The Arab Socialist Ba'th Party regards all Arabs as being part of one nation both in the cultural and spiritual sense. The different countries in which they live, make up a politically and economically united fatherland. In the Party's documents, 'the Arab fatherland' means all the Arab countries. Each of these is a 'qotr' which, literally translated, means country; in the Ba'th context, it should be read as province or region. The adjective 'Qotri' (provincial, regional) is used when referring to an individual country. The adjective 'qawmi' (national), on the other hand, is used when referring to all the countries which together make up the one fatherland. Thus, the National Directorate deals only with matters concerning the whole fatherland. Each Regional Directorate deals with matters within its own country. As for example, the Lebanese or Jordanian Regional Directorate etc.

The word Ba'th can be translated as meaning revival, resurgence or renewal. Hitherto, resurgence seems to be the meaning which is preferred by Arab intellectuals and foreign Arab experts.

On Arab Unity

The co-operation realised by the Arab League charter is inadequate since something like this co-operation could take place among countries different from each other in language, race and history as they are far from each other regionally and separated from each other by continents. The charter, taken as a whole, is a confirmation of the present state of fragmentation in the Arab world, and an emphasis on the rulers' personal urges. It is also an acquiescence, on the part of League's states, to the policy of the « fait accompli » which made it easy for them to retreat before the designs of the foreigners on certain parts of the Arab homeland. Such retreat has taken the form of admitting that Palestine has not yet reached the stage of political maturity, neglecting the fate of other Arab lands in North Africa and elsewhere and the silence of these states vis-a-vis the Zionist menace as well as the annexation of Alexandretta by Turkey.

« Our opinion of the Arab League Charter - The Periodical Publication No. (1) 4 - April 4, 1945 ».

It is now the Arabs who quarrel among themselves over unity and federation, republic and democracy, freedom and sovereignty, or to put it more correctly and justly, the quarrel is between professional political cliques which have sold themselves and conscience to the foreigners. There are those who want to open the way for imperialist interests through the call for unity, the republic and freedom. There are Arab royalist governments in support of the republic in Syria. Others surrender to the foreigners but pretend to carry the banner of unity

and federation. We must be above such disputes which have no connection whatever with the real issue of nationalism, even though they are named after it and take on Arabic terms and nomenclatures derived from nationalist aims. They are in fact alien to it.

« Our task is to struggle to safeguard the aims of the Arabs - Al-Baath, 4 - Dec. 29, 1949 ».

After the disaster of Palestine nobody is hoodwinked any longer by appearances which are not supported by realities. Large numbers, after the defeat of the seven Arab states in the face of the Jewish gangs, are no longer sufficient to do without quality. Any union that the arabs intend to realise, after the cruel experiences and predicaments they have undergone, should have the necessary elements of viability. It must acquire quality not quantity, form or territory. In brief, such union has to rely on the unity of the forces of the people aiming at the increase of production and defence forces as well as elevating the level of political and nationalist consciousness, which could be likened to spiritual production and spiritual defence in addition to the material production and military defence.

« We want positive objectives - Al-Baath 4 - January 4, 1950 ».

There is no doubt that the goals of « The Arab Baath » which we have summarised in « Liberty, Socialism and Unity » are fundamentally equal in importance and they are not to be separated from each other and none of them are to be postponed. But the thing beyond doubt either is that unity has a moral priority and superiority which should not be overlooked by the Baathists lest they follow ideological and political currents that are most remote from the idea of Arab renaissance.

« The revolutionary nature of the Arab unity, 2 - February, 1953 ».

Therefore, unity is not an automatic act which comes into being by itself as a consequence of circumstances

and development. Circumstances do not help it and development may run counter to it, towards a false crystallization of fragmentation. According to this, unity is efficiency creation, going against the current, and a race with time. In other words, unity is a concept of overthrowing and an act of struggle. The onslaught of imperialism and Zionism is practically confined to preventing Arab unity. Imperialism does not need direct intervention to counterfeit democracy and progressivism since fragmentation guarantees this as long as its position and logic tempt every part to exploit it with a view of attaining certain illusory benefits at the expense of the other parts.

« The revolutionary nature of the Arab unity, 2 - February, 1953 ».

Whereas the « Unionists » of fragmentation consider unity something automatic that can be reached by political unification when circumstances and opportunities become propitious and that unity needs only political preparation, to be conducted through negotiations and manœuvres. As for ideological preparation this is, at best, nothing more than a generalised lip service to unity which is so wide that it incudes all sorts of improvisations and incongruities, and whereas unity represents, in the eyes of regionalist parties with their well-known practices, a superficial thing which lacks seriousness and comes last in priorities when compared with regional preoccupations which practically dominate the interest of such parties, unity, as seen by the « Arab Baath », is a fundamental and living idea. It has a theory in the same way as freedom and socialism have theories. Like them it has its principled, organised daily and continuous struggle as well as its stages of application which enhance the power of that struggle and pave the way for the final victory.

« The revolutionary nature of the Arab unity, 2 - February, 1953 ».

Arab unity is an ideal and a standard. Il is not the outcome or a consequence of the fight of the Arab people

for liberty and socialism, it is a new ideal which should accompany and direct that fight. The potentialities of the Arab nation are not the numerical sum of the potentialities of its parts when they are in the state of separation; they are greater in quantity and different in kind.

« The revolutionary nature of the Arab unity, 2 - February, 1953 ».

Thus we reach this fact: The Arab people will not realise the unity of struggle unless it practises the struggle for unity.

« The revolutionary nature of the Arab unity, 2 - February, 1953 ».

The idea of Arab unity is the ideal of overthrow in the right meaning of the word. The nature of this ideal cannot be seized by the liberation from imperialism with all its seriousness and violence; nor can it be seized by social and socialist liberation which shatters in society the biggest interests and the strongest customs and rules. This is because external liberation benefits from the direct but passive emotion of the people, and social liberation depends on the direct and material interest of the people. Both of these liberations meet with the trend of our age which is marching towards the liquidation of imperialism and class exploitation, whereas the ideal of unity does not have any passive meaning. The material interest does not appear in it except partially, indirectly and with gains deferred. It is wholly positive, and, it is spiritual rather than material. It is premeditated rather than spontaneous, as it goes beyond simplification and the immediate interests, it addresses the mind and profound faith and requires the sacrifice of the present in favour of the future and requires serious preparation and a new education.

« The unity of struggle and the unity of destiny, 1 - August, 1955 ».

The liberty demanded by an Egyptian or an Iraqi party, and the socialism for which a Syrian or a Lebanese party works are something other than the liberty and socialism which the Arab nation needs and is capable of realising, as a nation of a cultural heritage, capacity and potential for a new and genuine renaissance. The freedom which every Arab region pursues all alone cannot reach in profundity, comprehensiveness and positive significance the level of freedom to which the Arab nation aspires when it puts its destiny and the destiny of humanity in question. Similarly, socialism, reduced and distorted within the borders of one region, to the point of confining itself to partial and deceptive reforms, will reach its full theoretical and applicable scope when its area becomes the Arab homeland as an economic unity and as a unity of popular struggle.

« Unity of struggle and unity of destiny, 1 - August, 1955 ».

And this is a clear and simple thing when we take the Arab homeland as a unit: Looking at its various economic potentialities we see that they complement each other. When we want to realise some of these potentialities and make progress, we have to take into consideration this link which binds the different parts of one homeland, so that we avoid building twenty ports in one region while neglecting other regions, and avoid establishing an industry in a region which does not have the raw materials for it and consequently becomes very costly for us while we can, by unifying our economy with other regions or with some of them, create an industry for us, Arabs, without having recourse to foreign capital or foreign raw materials.

« The nature of rule in Egypt, 5 - March, 1956 ».

Unification during the time of struggle is the correct one as it penetrates the souls very deeply, fusing the souls emotions and everything. When every region beco-

mes independent and arranges its conditions as an independent, unit difficulties arise in an unbelievable way.

« The Unity of struggle in the Arab Maghreb (North Africa), 1 - March, 1956 ».

The revolutionary nature of Arab unity, cannot, therefore, be realised from above, or on the basis on which the « Arab League » was established. It should come from the depths of the masses of the Arab people, fused with the innermost needs of this people, and with the core of its emancipation and social struggle. It also means that unity, even though it requires for realisation time and effort in stages, has a precondition for attaining it, and it should be taken as a target and guideline for our struggle from the beginning. This means that all our other steps should be open to it, connect with it and lead to it. Meanwhile, we have to sacrifice many regional and immediate interests while overcoming the obstacles raised by regional thinking because we shall never find unity at the end of our path unless we put unity at its beginning.

« The revolutionary nature of the Arab cause, 2 - April 25, 1956 ».

The serious danger to unity comes from those who affect it, brag about it, who, when clinging to it, do so in order to fake it, suck out its blood, stifle it, and put on its mouth what it does not want to say, in order to make it a prisoner in their hands. They can then use it as a threat and bargain for it in exchange for base positions and personal leadership.

« On the unity of Egypt and Syria, its direction and the obstacles on its way, 2 - April 7, 1956 ».

In view of this we entered the national coalition government on the condition that it should undertake to achieve federation between Egypt and Syria, because we knew that national rule, which means among other things postponing or narrowing the internal battle, loses

its « raison d'être » and changes into a means to lull the people, if its price is not the gain on the national field, that is, federation. To defer the internal battle with nothing in exchange and for no justification is no more than striking a blow at liberation policy and going back to imperialist dependence.

« The federation of Syria and Egypt is the fruit of the Arab emancipating struggle and the guarantee for its continuity 2 - June 22, 1956 ».

Does unification of defense confine itself to the leadership of the two armies, and would it be sufficient to unify at last the economy by the exchange of commodities and by a lifeless co-ordination of present economic conditions in the two regions, instead of achieving a deep interaction between the producing forces in light of the new needs and the new outlook inspired by the federation which should direct production towards the exigencies of the higher national objectives?

If we make such enquiries, it is only because that deviations and deceipt threaten unity in its first step and because the obstacles in its path are neither few nor easily overcome.

« On the unity of Egypt and Syria and the obstacles, 2 - April 7, 1956 ».

The Arab people, in the different parts of its homeland, whether small or large in number, struggles armed by the force of the whole Arab nation because it struggles for the freedom of the whole Arab nation.

« The federation of Egypt and Syria, 2 - July 6, 1956 ».

We make a grave mistake if we concede the benefit of this step without conceding its imperative necessity, for it is not only a step forward but the only guarantee that we will not go back on what we have achieved up to now and so that we will not lose. Every liberation not guaranteed by unity remains precarious and susceptible to relapse. Every progress remains superficial, distor-

ted and disfigured unless unity gives it the natural soil for its growth.

« The federation of Egypt and Syria, 2 - July 6, 1956 ».

If there is an issue which could and should transcend party differences and narrow thinking, it is that of unity. What is the use of thinking of parties and their practices, nay, what is the use of their existence if our homeland remains dismembered and fragmented? No fragment, however large and strong—could ever carry alone, deeply and genuinely, the burden of the principles declared by the parties, the principles which could never claim profundity and genuineness if they were not inspired by the history of the Arab nation when it was unified and if the image of the forthcoming unity does not exist continually in the minds and hearts of people holding these principles.

« The federation of Egypt and Syria, 2 - July 6, 1956 ».

There is no guarantee for what the Arabs have achieved in relative and partial emancipation and progress, and they will not have the capacity to repulse external dangers accumulating around them unless they go on the path of Arab unity.

« The rejoice of imperialist powers, 5 - Al-Baath - July 13, 1956 ».

One of the features of Arab awakening is that it endeavours to emerge from economic backwardness by setting out economic policies on popular, progressive and revolutionary bases. Most efforts are to be directed towards raising the standard of the greatest number of the Arabs and concentrating on fundamental matters such as strengthening defence and establishing basic industries in order to liberate the homeland from foreign dependence. All this should take place in the framework of the logic of Arab unity which requires that the Arab economy should be integrated with every part comple-

menting the others, and become open to unifying steps while enhancing them.

« The outcome of a stage of struggle, 5 - December, 1956 ».

The Arab homeland is an economic whole in addition to being a political and military whole, that is to say the parts of this homeland complement each other. What Syria has by way of resources, raw materials and means of production is nothing but a part of this economic whole which is the Arab land in its entirety. Therefore, when the economy in Syria is organised on the principle that it should have a complete industry comprising all the industries that an independent state requires, and that it should have the facilities and the armoury needed by an independent state, and Lebanon and Iraq and others plan in the same way, a few years will not pass without each region drowning in a state of fragmentation, and all the forces of the world will be incapable of extricating it from this state so that it may become open to Arab unity, co-operate and be unified with other regions. Thus most of the potential of the Arab nation become wasted, especially in the economic field. We can apply this to all other fields, as the efforts exerted for the benefit of one region could be sufficient for all regions.

« On the situation in Egypt, 2 - January 21, 1956 ».

Our united Arab Republic is the offspring of the revolution of the Arab people and its struggle in all its regions. In order to comprise all the Arab regions, it should be the fountainhead and the nourishment of revolution in all parts of the Arab homeland, for the principle which was the origin and the base of its creation and preparation for it for so many years, the principle of Arab unity and the oneness of its cause and struggle, is alone that can guarantee its survival and growth until it realizes its message, the all-embracing and liberating unity.

« This unity is an Arab revolution and a world revolution, 2 - February 8, 1956 ».

We do not say that Arab unity will be reached in one stroke, but say that it is natural and reasonable that it should be achieved in stages and we hold this view, the view of stages, and work by it and for it: federation between two or three regions is a stage on which all our efforts should concentrate until they come to fruition, this stage, in turn, will facilitate reaching a higher stage, on the path towards a larger and greater unification.

« Arab unity and socialism, 5 - February, 1956 ».

When the day comes when Iraq is delivered from its unnatural conditions there will be nothing more precious than federation with Iraq.

« Arab unity and socialism, 5 - February, 1956 ».

When we linked unity to socialism we were acting neither recklessly nor at random, but we found this the only path to make unity in our life a living and dynamic reality, which every labourer demands when he claims his bread, a rise in his wages and medicine for himself and his children. When every poor and oppressed peasant demands the restoration of his right to his produce and delivery from injustice and enslavement, we have likewise made of Arab unity a living and realistic requirement that merges with the life of the Arab people as individuals throughout their daily living circumstances and with the simplest thing in their lives, their material needs.

« The role of workers in the realisation of unity and socialism, 1 - March, 1956 ».

Now that the Arab liberation struggle has reached the level that has appeared in Egypt and Algeria, accompanied by and fused with a social and progressive consciousness which is continually increasing and ascending, the subject of Arab unity and the steps for its realisation can no longer be ambiguous or confused. Unity has become axiomatically synonymous with liberation since im-

perialism fears nothing as it fears unity. Unity has also become synonymous with progressiveness inside the Arab nation, for reactionaries who capitulate to imperialism and ally themselves with it against the social demands of the people cannot but support imperialism in its resistance to the current of unity.

« There is one road for unity 5 - June 21, 1957 ».

Unity is a revolution coming to eradicate distortion and change the actual situation, discover the depths, release imprisoned forces and put an end to negative thinking, as well as regional characteristics whether genuine or fake and negative, the latter being nothing but the consequence of the absence of unity. Not everything in our actual existence is worthy of survival just because it exists. As for the sound and positive elements, these enrich unity and become harmonious with it, in fact they are preconditions for its coming into existence.

« Questions and Answers », 1 - 1957 ».

Federation is no longer a project among projects or a slogan among slogans. It has become an actual fact, nay, a predetermined destiny, for behind it there is a big nation suffering from deep injustice and affliction. It struggles in its various regions and on many fronts, inside and outside, in order to gain its freedom and march forward to perform its mission. Behind this federation there is also the logic of history, the trend of the age and the will for liberty, progress and peace of the peoples of the world, for these people have begun to realise the positive role reserved for the Arab nation when it becomes free, unified and up against all odds.

« The federation of Egypt and Syria supports the revolutionary trend and guarantees its continuity, 2 - December 6, 1957 ».

Therefore it is not right to imagine unification as a process of adding separate elements, for it is not a uni-

fication of sound parts, nor is it a consequence of new and accidental fragmentation. Unity is an active and creative interaction between the parts and is necessary within each part itself before it can be posited as a form of relationship between the parts aiming at co-operation and solidarity. Unity does not deprive the part of its personality. On the contrary, it accentuates and deepens it. It gives reality, genuineness and creativeness to every part when it puts it in its living place as part of a living whole.

« Questions and Answers », 1 - 1957 ».

Unity has been a pursuit of the Arab nation since it has been afflicted with fragmentation. The Baath did not create the demand or the objective of unity, but gave it a new conception that makes it realisable. Unity, in the view of the Baath, is a revolutionary idea and a revolutionary action in contrast to the concept prevalent in the past, whose consequences survive to this day. That concept meant merely putting together and binding the parts of the Arab homeland, whereas the revolutionary understanding of unity means creativeness in thought and struggle which stand opposed both to the state of fragmentation and to what has been bequeathed and fabricated by fragmentation in terms of mentality, emotions, interest and political, economic and social conditions inside every region of the nation.

Thus unity, in its revolutionary conception becomes linked with the two other revolutionary objectives, liberty and socialism, interacts with them, nourishes them and nourished by them. Thus unity enters, for the first time in many generations, into the very fabric of the life of the Arab people and into the innermost points of its struggle for its freedom, independence, political rights, and its daily bread as well as for the economic and social condition conducive to its human dignity and its national mission.

« Questions and Answers », 1 - 1957 ».

If (May God forbid this to happen) the efforts of the republic are confined to the inside and should it fail in its duties toward its brethren in the other regions, this will threaten its existence. As we believe that the Arab cause is one and that the Arab fate is one, our new republic, in supporting Algeria and in working for the liberation of any fighting Arab region, is defending itself and building its structure. The present unity of Syria and Egypt, achieved after numerous experiences and a long struggle, is indebted to this fact: That our cause is one and that its future should be committed to this unity and it should see its life in the life of the other Arab regions.

« The unity of Egypt and Syria, 2 - February 20, 1958 ».

But it is important to know that the beginning is always hard and exposed to danger, and we should be aware that we have a sacred duty to protect this historic step and nourish it with all our strenght. We should never in it a justification for respite, withdrawal from action or claiming the price for past efforts. This step is still open to many risks, the overt risks are the smallest because they are naked, but the concealed risks do not appear often or with complete clarity. The most important of these is which means that residue from the mentality of fragmentation the unity becomes entangled with the threads of fragmentation whereupon it becomes inconsistent and fails.

« The unity of Egypt and Syria, 1 - February 20, 1958 ».

When Arab unity becomes the axis of our revolution, the heart that nourishes it, the horizon that inspires it and gives it fervour, it will negate all the reasoning and precautions which, some ten or twenty years ago, imposed on our life that low level of thinking and action and that superficial and shameful conduct of our affairs and conditions. In both the battle for liberation and independence and the battle for progress and social revo-

lution, the idea of unity has opened the door in every Arab region for radical and decisive solutions, because it makes every Arab region responsible for the burdens of the Arab nation in its entirety, while at the same time replenishing them with the potential of the whole Arab nation. The revolutionary nature of the unity becomes apparent in the fact that it elevates the Arab struggle to profound suffering an the gravest danger, that is, to the level of the causes of Palestine and Algeria.

« The revolution of Algeria and the revolution of unity, 2 - April 4, 1958 ».

The battle ,in my view, is between unity and secession although, in a very short time it has been turned into a battle between nationalism and communism. Had we given unity its complete and sound meaning, clear in every way, the battle would not have been turned so easily and so quickly by new complications, to the battle between nationalism and communism.

« The battle of unity in Iraq, 1 - April, 1959 ».

If mistakes have been made, unity is deeper than everything and can rectify the mistakes. This insistence on and acceleration of realising a step toward unity is nothing but evidence of the need of the nation to cut short the way to unity because it is the way to power.

« Landmark of progressive nationalism, 1 - 1960 ».

Unity cannot become a retreat. It is the revolutionary unity of this age, a unity embraced by the masses and fused with the socialist struggle, nay, its struggle is fused with the experience of the whole nation at this stage. This deep human experience cannot be an automatic process, but a process of a new creation of the nation. This should become clear.

« Landmark of progressive nationalism, 1 - 1960 ».

Unity is not addition and connection and a materialist process. Unity is a new fusion through the new experience of the Arabs.

« Landmark of progressive nationalism, 1 - 1960 ».

The danger to the nationalist cause presented by the errors which have been responsible for the failure of the experience of unity will end as soon as the people are aware of these errors and know how to rectify and avoi them. As for the danger of the separatist situation, this will not be brought to an end merely by knowing its reality, a reality which is umasked, but the people must summon up all their fighting energy to resist the reactionary and imperialist privileges of which the new situation is made up.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1962 ».

In face of historic responsibilities of the first experiment in unity, after hunderds of years of dismemberment of the Arab countries, it was imperative, in order to make this experiment healthy encouraging and the bearer of the seeds of life and growth, that the leadership and the burden of collossal responsibilities be entrusted to the experience of an elite of fighting men from the Arab nation east and west, and that there be a deep and continuous interaction betweeen this experience and the revolutionary experience in each region. It was imperative also that this experience be atuned from the beginning to the diseases of fragmentation and its residues, to the problems of the backward Arab society and to the obstacles that reactionary, regional and imperialist interests put on the way of unity.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1962 ».

It is necessary to differentiate between two processes taking place at the same time: The first is that the mistakes made in affecting unity, in addition to the low level of awareness of most of the popular movements in

the Arab homeland, made the failure of this first experiment in unity almost inevitable. The second fact is that secession was the result, not only the failure of the experiment of unity but, primarily, of the fact that reactionary interests, relying on imperialism in this area and in the whole Arab homeland, exploited the bad application of unity in order to establish new conditions in Syria and in the area so that the nationalist cause would retreat and set the cause of the underprivileged classes many years back. At the same time, such conditions were to restore imperialism at a time when it was at the stage of liquidation, to strengthen « Israel » and open before it a wide future of security, to solidify the rule of kings, princes and companies and all exploiters and enslavers of the people and to turn the Arab unity to the realm of illusion and fantasy and the imperialist designs.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1962 ».

It is imperative for this unified Arab struggle, in order to safeguard the concept of unity against doubts and stumbling, that its work for unity be based on a clear vision of a system of unity capable at the same time of preserving its nationalist significance and preventing it from regional hegemony. The system which the party has called for, since the deliberation about unity, and which it regards as ensuring this purpose, is the system of one federal state.

This system takes into consideration at one time the fact of the oneness of the Arab people on the one hand and the actual existence of the Arab regions on the other.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1962 ».

But the errors of the ruling system in the United Arab Republic, however grave they may be, do not justify secession, for the fact remains that the failure of the experiment in unity is a consequence of certain mistakes and that secession is a consequence of planning, designs and conspiracy.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1962 ».

In order to safeguard unity against the maneuvering of politicians and their verbal bargaining, and to exclude those whose class and regional interests are farthest from it, (the party) gave it blood and life and gathered around it the popular forces that are loyal to it and capable of accomplishing it.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1962 ».

Now that the first and most precious experiment in unity was achieved and has failed, secession represents a new kind of fragmentation, which has its own basis, logic and justifications. They are unifying their forces which are those of imperialism, Zionism, Arab reactioneries and Arab haters, not only to confront any possibility of the establishment of a new unity, but also to track down the idea of unity and unitary forces and shatter them everywhere. Secession is the realisation of fragmentation, it makes it something realistic and valid. It is an attempt to make of the failure of the experiment of unity a refutation of unity from its foundations and give the practical proof that the present existence of fragmentation is genuine and eternal and that the existence of independent Arab entities is the final and everlasting form of existence.

« Imperialism and reaction perform the greatest conspiracy against our nation, 2 - July 20, 1962 ».

The separatist retrogression of today is an expression of reactionary interests and Arab-hating thought as well as a regional logic. The duty of the progressive movement is to go back to the essence of the orientation it set for itself from the start in the field of Arab nationalism. We mean the interaction between the nationalist revolution and the social revolution and the integrated manner of working for them.

« For unity it is necessary to have a daily revolutionary fighting stand, 2 - August, 1962 ».

This separation stemming from the failure of the first experiment in unity is nothing but an example of the collossal difficulties on the way of unified thinking and action, especially in the nationalist and progressive rank itself. This relapse, in one of its forms, is an expression of the wearines that sometimes comes over certain fighters calling for the nationalist trend when the task appears to them almost impossible, while at the same time they are attracted by the facility of success if they concede the regional actuality.

« For unity it is necessary to have a daily revolutionary fighting stand - August, 1962 ».

Historical development does not bring about unity accidentally and gratuitously. Unity needs daily creation and nourishment as well as daily explanation, education and organisation. It is the nationalist goal that is most in need of all these things, in view of the fact that it is an action on a plane other than the immediate one occupied by the Arab people in the regions of its fragmented homeland. It is an action that goes beyond the regional and direct limits and problems. Therefore the important thing is to realise unity, take it out of the realm of theory and thinking and hopes and bring it nearer and nearer, day by day, to be possibility of realisation. The basic problem is to be on guard against the evils of false and suspect projects: Imperialism and reaction and all the enemies of unity have been occupying the Arabs for decades. They are capable of occupying them for long years to come by false and suspect projects so that the whole Arab action will be confined to rejection and passiveness, in other words, to the maintenance of fragmentation, weakness and exploitation.

« For unity it is necessary to have a daily revolutionary fighting stand - August, 1962 ».

The unity that was achieved between Syria and Egypt in February 1958 was not sudden nor was it rash and unmeditated. It was not an accident brought about by

circumstances. It had a history and a past and behind it, there was thinking and planning, effort and struggle. The Arab Baath Socialist Party had planned it two years before it emerged and had put its representatives in the coalition government in Syria since June, 1956, on condition that the government would adopt the project of federation between Syria and Egypt and work for its realisation. At that point, the Baath Party thought and declared that behind its intention to realise the first step in Arab unity was its will to restore to all the Arabs their confidence in the idea of unity and its capacity for realization, and to make the first state of unity a support and foundation for the Arab struggle in every part of the Arab homeland, especially for the struggle of Algeria and Palestine. The party saw in the conditions of Syria and Egypt the soundest conditions for the initiation of the unifying process. At the time when the Secretary General of the Party went to discuss with President Abdul Nasser the issue of unity, Abdul Nasser announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company which started the well-known battle. Since that date the work of the Party, in all its Arab branches, has turned to the defence of Egypt in its new battle against imperialism. That stand was made imperative not only by the unity of struggle, but also because it was paving the way for unity and making Egypt aware of the truth of unity and its reality. The Party, in all the regions of the East, waged the battle of the Canal as a preparation and model for the battle for unity. During this battle the Party was working under the guidance of its Arab revolutionary ideology, inspired by its doctrine the that unity is revolutionary and that it does not come accidentally, without a daily struggle for it.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1962 ».

The realisation of unity has aroused enthusiasm and optimism among Arabs who have reached consciousness more than it has aroused in them the conscious appreciation of the importance of this step and the necessity to be

vigilant about it and safeguard it from errors and stumbling. Most of Arab progressive and revolutionary movements put unity to their account, exploiting it and strengthening themselves with it for the benefit of their regional affairs, without being ready to carry their share of responsibility for keeping an eye on unity and the soundness of its direction. Rather, blind support of it, stemming from a narrow regional outlook and transitory interests, encouraged and facilitated deviation and contributed to the failure which involved all these movements nay, all the Arab people.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1964 ».

The unitary orientation in the view of our Party is not merely an intention and a claim but a projection of an actual reality. Our Party was considered unitarian because it believed in the theory of unity and created its structure on unitary foundations and not because it only declared slogans of unity. The regional orientation, as a theoretical, political and organisational direction, is rightwing, and deviationist. It is a direction hostile to socialism, unity and revolutionary organisation as well as to the really popular action. The duty of the Party is to liquidate this orientation once and for all for it is a disease in the body of this Party and disease should be eradicated.

« A speech to the branches - The Syrian Region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

The unity of the Arab nation is both a positive and negative fact. Positive because it is the power and the right order of things. It is a negative fact because the enemies are conspiring against the whole Arab nation and when they hit one of its regions they hit the nation in its entirety.

« The distant horizons of revolutionary action, 3 - October 14, 1968 ».

There is a great obstacle which made the effort of the Arab nation futile despite the changes which have taken place in the last twenty years, and despite the emergence of more progressive systems in many of the Arab regions, existed and despite serious changes in social and production relationships and also in the means of production. In spite of all this, the Arab effort has remained incapable of being on a par with that of the external enemy and of being steadfast before its aggression, to the point that it reached the defeat sustained by the Arab states. The basic obstacles, my comrades, is the actuality of fragmentation. The changes which took place, along with the progress, could not transcend fragmentation, eradicate it from the roots and annihilate its causes. We have consequently reached a state where the very existence of the Arab nation is threatened with annihilation, for the pace of our progress and that of the enemies coveting us is unequal and time will not be in our favour if we do not find the correct equation to rectify the method of revolutionary action practised during the last twenty years.

« The new stage is a founding stage, 3 - October 23, 1969 ».

The frontiers of every Arab region are the frontiers of the whole Arab nation, its boundaries are the boundaries of the entire Arab homeland, the boundaries of the whole Arab existence. Nothing could guarantee the security of any Arab region as its participation in the great Arab cause.

« The new stage is a founding stage, 3 - October 23, 1969 ».

Arab unity will not be achieved unless it becomes a fighting unity, unless a great majority of the people are armed and defend it by arms, unless it becomes the unity of liberation. We must unite to liberate our usurped land, for imperialism and Zionism will never leave us united for a single day.

« The role of the working class in building the Arab revolution, 3 - November, 1969 ».

The battle of destiny faced by our Arab nation requires all the capacities and potential of this nation. This is a truth which has become axiomatic. But the natural start of deploying and unifying the capabilities of the Arab nation is in the beginning stage and is concentrated in the unity of the masses of the regions surrounding Israel and these are: Egypt, Iraq and Syria.

« The call of historic responsibility, 3 - March, 1971 ».

Giving primary importance to the region, that is to the part, before the whole, will lead to forfeiting the Arab cause. A gathering of regions will not lead to unity, and a collection of regional interests will not lead to the national interest.

« The regimes and the masses are two opposing sides of the Arab nation - April 15, 1974 ».

The solution of the Arabs today is in unity and their road for achieving unity is through democracy. In order that unity does not remain a theoretical quest, and so that democracy does not deviate to objectives less fundamental than unity, the masses should direct their efforts to wresting their right in a democracy linked with unity. In other words, they should achieve unity as masses and realise democracy through the unifying struggle of the masses.

« The regimes and the masses are two opposing sides of the Arab nation - The Arab Revolutionary - April 15, 1974 ».

We must reject a Palestinian state created through the settlement. We must reject the restoration of Palestinian lands to Hussain—What is required is to undo the settlement in Egypt and Syria and urge every Arab region to participate in undoing it for this is the basis of the Palestinian state settlement of the settlement of restoring the lands to Hussain—What is required is to start the battle again to be read for it. Either Israel retreats

unconditionally and in exchange for nothing, whereupon a national authority will be established on that part of the land of Palestine pending the complete liberation, or the struggle will continue until liberation is completed in the future.

« The regimes and the masses are two opposing sides of the Arab nation - The Revolutionary Arab - April 15, 1974 ».

Future conditions or stage will prove in a more realistic and tangible way than in the past that the Palestinian cause is in effect the cause of the whole Arab nation and that this challenge with which the imperialist conspiracy in Syria and Jordan and everywhere is being faced will reach the point of resorting to arms for the liberation of Palestine. The fear that they will disarm the palestinians and the Palestinan resistance is a valid and just fear and we must be on our guard in this respect. But with our awareness and our aspiration for the future, we have to create Palestine in every Arab region and urge the Arab masses to carry rifles for the sake of Palestine.

« Palestine, the Arab Revolution's cause, 7 - The speech of the Founder to the political committee of the Palestinian revolution in Iraq and the heads of the popular unions - April 22, 1974 ».

Our understanding of the actuality of fragmentation and regional entities will help us to overcome them in the future... will facilitate for us the process of Arab unification in the future. Ignoring this actuality will not facilitate unity.

« The growing Arab capacity to confront the enemies, 7 - The speech of the Founding Leader to the Syrian Comrades in Baghdad - June 23, 1974 ».

Comrades we must look at the Arab unity, which every time that it comes near, slips from our hands, with a new look so that involves no erroneous thoughts

and in order not to become subject to unjustifiable despair. Arab unity is approaching and we are now nearer to it than at any other time in the past because it is incorporated in the consciousness of the Arab masses. The awareness of unity has grown a great deal, especially during the last war and the period after. We can reach unity by various ways provided that this new level of maturity which our masses have attained prevents us from the old emotional stands which meant that either the others accepted unity with us or we become enraged, hurt and distressed. Unity means that we have to seize every opportunity and use every field of communication and co-operation and common formation in the Arab regions. We should consider governments and all these barriers temporary and ephemeral and we should build for tomorrow, for posterity. We have to open our way to the masses even in the regions where the governments of which, have capitulated to imperialism. The plan of the enemies is to find us isolated, shrunken, within a cocoon, surrounded, so that they can enter the inside of our house. This plan should be forced to fail through repeated and various initiatives. Iraq must be open to all the Arab regions but should be very careful to define its distance from them in matters concerning principles and the soundness of policy.

« The experiment of Baath in Iraq is a starting point for the Arab revolution, 7 - June 24, 1974 ».

Freedom and The Role of the Masses

We want independence and liberty because they are right and just and because they are the means to the release of our great gifts and creative capacities, so that we can realise on this earth, which is our land, our aim and the aim of every man—complete humanity.

« The age of heroism, 1 - 1935 ».

The government can imprison, and exile and persecute an individual and individuals, but what can it do with a new generation in its entirety, a generation which sanctifies right and longs for heroism, which vows that Arabism shall have a face other than the one which the politicians gave it; a generation that understands national ethics in a way different from that of professional politicians?

« We warn the ruling clique from continuing its policy - announcement distributed among the masses - March 14, 1945 ».

In face of these facts it is necessary to confirm a principle imposed by the actuality of the present Arab politics corroborated every day by the events which make it increasingly obvious with time, it is that patriotism, the loyalty to the principles of independence and faithfulness to them, whether in Syria or elsewhere in the Arab regions, but in Syria more than in other Arab regions, this patriotism has allied itself with the ranks of the opposition, for the regime has become suspect.

« Opposition and the Arab cause, 7 - Al-Baath - July 21, 1946 ».

Freedom is not articles in the constitution and texts of the laws. It is not merely a subject for oratory and writing, but action before everything else. Il will not enter into our lives unless we give our lives for it. We will not impose its esteem on the rulers and make the people aware of its value and sacredness unless our faith in it becomes a fighting faith « Jihad » and our defense of it becomes martyrdom.

« Why we yearn for liberty, 1 - Al-Baath - August 9, 1946 ».

In longing for liberty and in defending it we are not attached to something theoretical which has no connection with reality. Liberty allows the people to know where their daily bread goes and how their wealth and the fruits of their labour and production are wasted and why the rulers manipulate official post, corrupt consciences and play havoc with efficiency. How they debase honesty in order to secure their winning the elections. Why they keep the country in their grip, prevent any progress, impose on it the continuation of moral degeneration and material bankruptcy. Liberty makes it possible for the people to know the hight they have reached to attain their independence and how to solidity it, as well as the shortcomings of that independence with the external dangers threatening it. The people will then know the reasons for this tangible neglicence of such a vital issue as the Palestinian cause and the secret of foreign hegemony over our Arab policies and why we are confined and bound, to this influence. They will be aware of the penetration of foreign companies in our country, their swallowing up of our money and wealth, their oppression of our workers, their conspiracies against us in a way that makes our independence a sheer skeleton, bloodless and lifeless.

« Why we yearn for liberty, 4 - Al-Baath - August 9, 1946 ».

This independence which Syria enjoys, all the Arabs have participated in realising it for her. Today they look

up to her and set their hopes on her. As for us, children of Syria, we struggled for this independence and rojoiced in obtaining it because we see in it a means and path leading to the liberation and unification of the Arab regions. But the Syrian government has shown only the negative side of this independence. The foreigners have been evacuated but their evacuation will be of no avail if it does not involve lifting the barriers which they put before the people and its objectives. The people in Syria do not believe in independence unless it becomes possible for them to realise their aspirations in coming to the rescue of their Arab brethren, everywhere Arabism suffers from injustice. When will our independence acquire this forceful and positive significance?

« The Arabs and Unity, 4 - Al-Baath - August 12, 1946 ».

The Arabs have a great freedom. It is the source and guarantee of all the partial freedoms: it is the nationalist freedom which secures for the salvation from enslavement and allows them to rescue the wealth of their land from the plunder of the foreigners and their minds and talents from suffocation and distortion. It is the kind of freedom which allows them to take their destiny into their hands once more.

« There is one popular action for the Arab nation, 4 - Al-Baath - March 11, 1947 ».

If the question of our nation is of concern to us in a real and sincere way we should look daringly and penetratingly at the actuality of our condition. If we do not act decisively, valiantly and persistently; if we do not put an end to the old mentality which wanted to consider the people a herd of human beings who can be run, misguided and drugged, if we do not put a sudden and violent end to this mentality, we shall be exposed to danger: the danger of foreign aggression because a people which is lacking in life and deprived of liberty, cannot defend its land. The other danger which could be

more serious than the first is, that of remaining sterile, dry and incapable of any construction or creativeness.

« The new generation and the future Arab society - Al-Baath - February 27, 1948 ».

Your struggle against despotism has brought you to an invaluable result as it has forced the men in power to remove from their faces the last mask covering their reality. They have ruled the people forcefully with the methods of the hateful imperialism. Today a new battle is awaiting you, a battle for your sacred freedom. In waging this battle you will make a certain gain. Freedom is action and struggle, both of which increase your awareness of value of freedom and loyalty to it as well as experience in defending it until such time as freedom is completely realised for you, when have paid its price in full.

« The people have to choose between liberty and enslavement - March 15, 1948 ».

If I defend myself and plead, despite the prejudice which has appeared to all of us during the period of my arrest along with the pressure and suggestions on the part of the executive authority with regards to the judiciary, it is because I insist to take an optimistic stance toward the judiciary, for I believe that it is, in the present situation, a victim like me and like the people as a whole. We are all on the side of accused against the ruling clique. Therefore we do not feel rancour against the judiciary but I do not accept watching it capitulate to the status quo. The judicial system is a strong and guiding authority. Its persons are like educators of the people in their judgments and in their concern for justice. They have in this respect the making of the teacher. I do not know why I demand sacrifice from myself and do not ask it also from my brethren and comrades whose work has put them in judicial situations. Why not require from them that they prove that there

is in the nation an invincible spirit which does not capitulate to things as they are?

« Defense before the court of appeal, 4 - October 30, 1948 ».

What liberty could be wider and greater than binding oneself to the renaissance of one's nation and its revolution?

« The expertise of the elderly and the rashness of the young, 1 - 1955 ».

The doctrine and the doctrinaires cannot overcome the corruption of the present situation, the false social and political powers—forces which are tangible in our midst—unless the doctrine is incorporated in a tangible act. The doctrine will not acquire its only justification —that is liberty—unless it becomes able to equal the actual corrupt powers, more than that, to surpass and conquer them. It cannot conquer the corrupt powers by words, by repeating slogans, by denunciations and protest etc. We can confront the corrupt powers and overcome them by positive action, by real action on the earth, and not by re-iterating hazy expressions and ideas and repeating slogans.

« The duty of members - The seriousness of party responsibility, 6 - April, 1955 ».

The only way to liberate and unify of the Arab homeland is to enable the popular masses to reach the rule of the country and take over its affairs, for these masses alone have the will, the interest and the potential to achieve the independence of the Arabs, the unification of their land and the revival of their society.

« The battle between superficial and genuine existence, 2 ».

The age of the masses in the world has come. The real masses are the peoples of Asia and Africa which underwent the defeat human experience involving external enslavement as well as internal, domestic and foreign

injustice. In the West, when the exploited classes revolted against their exploiters, the revolution remained within the confines of narrow material interests; the Western masses did not oppose the imperialist exploitation of the oriental peoples. Contrary to what took place in the West the revolution of the oriental peoples is predominently characterised by an emancipating and humanitarian feature because it rises against imperialism which involves all kinds and forces of injustice. While injustice in the West does not affect more than certain classes, the orient is nothing but whole peoples suffering injustice. The Arab nation is one of these oppressed peoples. In its experience there are the seeds of a new message addressed to nations and to humanity and not only to social classes.

« The Battle between superficial and genuine existence, 5 - January 21, 1956 ».

It has been observed that the conception of some members of liberty is still superficial to the extent that it is confused with that kind of sham liberty behind which the reactionaires, hide together with the exploiters of the people and the collaborators with imperialism. This danger we should discover and avoid, for liberty is a principle which should have a practical formula, in each circumstance and at each stage. For this reason we must remove from our thinking this empty and nebulous conception of theoretical liberty which does not differentiate between the people and their enemies, between the citizens of the homeland and the colonisers of the homeland, between those who believe in this liberty and those who take advantage of it for their interests while they are its archenemies. We should therefore be on guard against this bourgeois and spineless understanding of liberty and democracy.

The liberty which we seek is not opposed to legislation and measures meant to curb the exploitation of feudalistis, capitalists, profiteers and opportunists of all brands. The liberty which we pursue does not coflict with

measures and laws preventing the imperialist sabotage of our existence and the spread of its agents in our press, in the state machinery and everywhere that it has the opportunity to infiltrate and spread its poisons in the name of freedom. Our view of liberty should always be a sound one. It is a new and strict liberty which does not allow leaving matters unchecked. It is not negative, allowing corruption to take its course and let disorder grow but it is a positive and creative liberty. It is a liberty which stands against pressure, confusion and the plot against our national existence by our internal and external enemies, so that conditions remain healthy and conducive to the flowering and growth of this existence.

« On the situation in Egypt, 5 - January 21, 1956 ».

What guarantees that a rule is national is that it is open to liberty and assists the people in exercising their rights and participation in running their affairs. The people will then be able to start their struggle once more against all those old bases of which progressiveness has not only changed some of their consequences. It did not reach their roots and depths.

« On the situation in Egypt, 5 - January 21, 1956 ».

Democracy, a constitutional democracy, which is not accompanied by socialist legislation is empty and will soon turn into a weapon in the hands of the rich and proprietors so that they may continue their exploitation of the peoples. This is something that has been experienced by the peoples.

It is at the same time true that dictatorship—even if it were working in the interest of the people and even if everything it does is for the people—is a precarious system, unsuitable and self-contradictory, for it exposes the reforms carried out by dictatorship to the danger of eventual evanescence, perdition and eradication, because it does not allow the consciousness of the people to grow and safeguard such reforms by their conviction and their fight.

« The nature of the rule in Egypt, 5 - March, 1956 ».

Socialism

If I am asked about my predilection towards socialism I would answer: what I aspire to in it is not the increase in the wealth of factories but the increase in the wealth of life. My concern is not that people should be equal in the distribution of food but that every individual should be allowed to realize his gifts and potential.

The labourer crushed by his misery may not find in socialism anything except a promise that he may take what he is deprived of, but I view it as continuous and generous giving, as giving to life many times what it has offered us.

« The wealth of life, 1 - 1936 ».

He who thinks that socialism is a religion of pity is gravely mistaken. We are not hermits taking refuge in mercy to give peace to a conscience disturbed by seeing misery and suffering, so that we become great in our own eyes and sleep untroubled. In our defense of the deprived masses we are not giving them alms but demanding rights for them. We are not concerned about alleviating misery but for increasing the wealth of life.

« The wealth of life, 1 - 1936 ».

In fact this class on which the representation of the country fell in a certain period is very far from the spirit of the nation, its needs and requirements, for it is a senile and ancient class whose vitality has been exhausted and its relation to the spirit of the nation shaken. It has become so servile to economic interests and traditional

social influence that it is impossible for it to discern the qualities of the Arab life at this stage of development in its history. The consequence of this is that it enters the national struggle unwillingly while dreaming of stability and longing for rest. How many times during the short period of the national struggle has this class deluded itself that the play has come to an end, that the trust was delivered and that the time has come for plucking the fruits and receiving the wages. But the people in their renewed vitality, awakened instinct and repeated revolutions has been warning this class from time to time of the falsehood of its illusions and violently reminding it that the struggle is not yet finished.

« The new formula for patriotism - The Baath, 4 - July 17, 1946 ».

The fact which the people realise through contradictions and in spite of equivocation is that the presence of the foreigners in the past was not the real obstacle to those leaderships bringing about reform within the limits of the possible, and that the evacuation of the foreigners today is a sufficient reason to enable them to realise that reform. The crux of the matter and the reason lies inside this leadership itself, in its rigid mentality and its corrupt social conditions. If the foreigners were able to obstruct something, that thing was the emergence of the correct leadership, and if their evacuation allows anything it is that the people will recognise their correct leadership and follow it with awareness and support it, with faith in it, and cast away the charlatans and exploiters once and for all.

« Our cause is still that of national liberation - Al-Baath, 4 - August 19, 1946 ».

In spite of the fact that the social and economic question is of a very great importance in our life we feel that it is secondary to a question of more importance and

depth and we cannot insure a solution to the economic question unless it is considered a branch and necessary consequence of the nationalist problem.

« The landmarks of Arab socialism - 1946 ».

Socialism in the West was forced to stand not only against capitalism but also against nationalism which protected capitalism, religion which defended it and every idea calling for preservation and sanctification of the past. All this because capitalism exploited the past for the defense of its interests, therefore it was in opposition to socialism.

« Landmarks of Arab socialism, 1 - 1946 ».

We believe that any treatment of the rise in prices which does not deal with the real reasons of this elevation is a shallow treatment doomed to failure. The problem of the high cost of living in our country is a deep one, related to the foundations of our corrupt social and economic system. It is closely connected with the existence of this profiteering and exploiting class, which makes the people suffer. It is the result of this selfish economic system which is free from any supervision or control by a conscious and strict state that fully represents the people.

The problem of the high cost of living will not be resolved except in the light of the socialist principles ardently and faithfully called for by our Party. It will not be solved except through the nationalisation of the foreign companies and putting them un der state ownership, thus saving the people from other exploitation of their vital needs such as water, electricity and communication, and by distribuiting the state owned lands among small farmers, rescueing them from the feudalists who draw off their blood and drain their efforts and give them a life close to nakedness and hunger for their continuous travail in the summer heat and the cold of winter. It will not be solved except by forcing the big

feudalists and capitalists to do justice to labour, limiting the oppression created by ownership and capitalism and granting the peasant and worker their natural rights in a dignified and human life.

« Our stand vis-a-vis the present government - Al-Baath, 2 - January 27, 1947 ».

The ruling class in the Arab nation is by structure, education and interests, incapable of, if we do not say loathe to—realising the complete national liberation and the unity of the fragments of the Arab land, for it is incapable of realising unity in the hearts of the Arabs.

« There is one popular task for the Arab nation - Al-Baath, 2 - March 11, 1947 ».

The tragedy of the Arabs at this stage is that the ruling class which has imposed itself on them is living a life the course of which runs counter to their aspirations, for it is decrepit and corrupted by luxury, by exploitation, by its oppression of the others. The psychology of the oppressor and exploiter is always senile and weary. This is why when this class views simple manifestations of progress it says to the people, to the whole Arab nation: this is as far you can possibly go.

« The party of overthrow, 1 - February, 1949 ».

The national interest, the survival of the nation and its progress along with the developed nations as well as its steadfastness in the race among nations all depend on the realisation of socialism, that is, allowing every Arab, without distinction or discrimination to become a tangibly productive entity and not an illusion.

« In socialism is the survival of the Arab nation and its progress - Al-Baath, 5 - October 7, 1950 ».

Progressivism in its real significance is nothing but the recommencement of the march of the nation in its

living and ascending history before it underwent degeneration. The liberation which we call for is nothing but a liberation from the fetters and residues which accumulated in this nation during that long period in which it stopped to march and to be in touch with the genuine fountainhead of its spirit.

« Progressiveness is the way to be in touch with our past - Al-Baath - February 7, 1950 ».

We represent liberty, socialism and unity. This is the interest of the Arab nation, I mean by nation the greater number of the people and not that disfigured and deviating minority which has denied its identity, the minority enslaved by its selfishness and private interests, for it is no longer a part of the nation.

« The Arab Baath is the will of life, 1 - April, 1950 ».

We who are not deceived by appearances, know that behind every opinion there are psychological and moral factors as well as factors created by interest. In most cases, the contradiction between us and the others is not in the realm of thinking, but it is a contradiction in interests and the detachment from personal benefits. Those who think that the Arab nation has not become sufficiently mature to put its case in a rationalised formula like the cases of other nations who have had important messages in history, and those who think that our nation has not come of age yet do not express in fact their opinion of the nation but express their own selfishness.

« The comprehensive ideological movement - 1950 ».

The achievement of socialism in our life is a fundamental condition for the survival of our nation and for the possibility of its progress. If we do not spread socialism and if we do not endeavour to realise social justice for all individuals, and if the Arab people is not turned

into a productive people to the greatest extent of its potential, if all this does take place, then all talk about the freedom of the Arabs and their independence are mere verbosity and misguidance.

« Workers and socialism, 1 - 1950 ».

This unity in our cause and this nationalist vision which elevates our problem to a level higher and truer than the mere economic level should not let us forget that the social question is the core of our problems and that if we grant any allowance or indulgence, on the pretext of nationalism, to the class of exploiters and reactionaries, we shall make our struggle lose its efficiency.

« Our view of capitalism and the class struggle, 1 - 1956 ».

We have irrevocably and from the outset rejected the capitalist view. In other words we have rejected every concept which makes things higher than man, for man is the supreme value in the view of our party, while capitalism is the reverse.

Capitalism is not a philosophy but a reality. It is the surrender of man and his retreat before the things which he has created and produced.

« Our view of capitalism and the class struggle, 1 - 1956 ».

It is not only capitalists and feudalists who are the enemies of the people, but also the politicians who stick to fragmentation because it serves their personal interests, those who are lenient with imperialism in any way and those who oppose thought, science, progress, openness and tolerance and those who resist the liberation of our nation. All of them we have put on one side and the whole Arab people on the other.

« Our view of capitalism and the class struggle, 1 - 1956 ».

Intellectual reasonings are not always intellectual. In many cases they hide personal interests and personal aims.

« Arab unity and socialism, 1 - February, 1956 ».

If a group in our Arab homeland is prepared for liberation, before other groups, from these interests and residues, ready to incorporate in its thinking and struggle the unity of the Arab cause, it is that of the Arab workers in particular and the toiling Arab masses in general, for these masses suffer, by living and daily experience this clear reality which is that its enemies are the enemies of the Arab nation.

« The role of workers in the realisation of unity and socialism, 1 - March, 1956 ».

The policy of the rulers in Syria for more than a year now has been inconsistent. It reveals the contradiction of the social and nationalist conditions here. The actual fact, as known and repeatedly declared by the reactionaries, is that the government for a year now has been reactionary in persons, parties and interests, but it practices the policy of progressivism in the foreign and Arab fields.

This admission alone makes it imperative for progressives to be cautious and suspicious and to work for expediting the rescue of the country from this contradiction. This should take the form of not separating the foreign and unifying liberation struggle from the struggle for the political and economic liberation of the people from the exploitation of the reactionaries and their oppression in the country. If the relative success we achieved in foreign and Arab fields has given rise to a certain moral rejoicing for the people and a retreat of the reactionary class which is also moral, the concentration of our struggle to strike this class is material interests the thing that will create the realistic foundation for our new foreign and Arab policies and will ensure the continuation

of its march and protect it form retrogression and conspiracy.

« The tricks of reaction and the alertness of the people - Al-Baath - June 15, 1956 ».

A policy which has this grave importance cannot be improvised and cannot be sentimental. It must be our duty, when the reactionaries retreat and adopt a new fashion, to know the reasons for this retreat and its deviousness, and always make the connection between their present and their past and realise that when they go back one step, it is because they want to be ready to leap two steps or because they want to avoid being forced to go back many steps.

« The tricks of reaction and the alertness of the people - June 15, 1956 ».

But when the cause of nationalist liberation and the cause of national unity were entrusted to the masses of the Arab people and these masses connected the demand for liberation and unity with that of their daily struggle for bread and the attainment of a dignified level of living then we entered the stage of realisation, we became able to realise victories over imperialism. Then Arab unity no longer was a fantasy. All this happened because we handed over these dear objectives to their owners, to the toiling class.

« The working class is the vanguard of the Arab struggle, 3 - 1960 ».

The nationalist cause is an indivisible whole as it is the material life of the people and their spiritual life. It is their just social demands as it is their legitimate rights and nationalist demands. It is their bread and prosperity as it is their national independence. It is the unity and unification of their homeland after dismemberment and fragmentation.

« The working class is the vanguard of the Arab struggle, 3 - 1960 ».

Unity is demanded by the struggle of the workers before everything else—the struggle of the workers demands unity on a world scale, why should it not require it on a nationalist scale? When the workers and the popular and laboring class enter into this unity, every reactionary and every suspect will be cast out.

« The working class is the vanguard of the Arab struggle, 1 - 1960 ».

Then appeared to us the first shaft of light, a shaft of salvation. It was evident to us that salvation cannot take place except at the hands of the people, the overwhelming majority of our people, at the hand of the toiling, oppressed and exploited majority not only because it is the majority but also because it has been suffering from injustice, exploitation and deprivation of freedom as well as wounded in dignity, in all human and national aspects. Therefore its situation, conditions and power have enabled it to become the vanguard of the struggling nation and its true identity.

« The working class is the vanguard of the Arab struggle, 1 - 1960 ».

Marxism is a socialist theory. It is the first and most important scientific theory... and it is not good to view marxism with fanaticism. We must be open to it objectively, and in our differences with it we have to argue by giving evidence against evidence and proof against proof not by being prejudiced. We must be able to see right and wrong wherever they are... Our stand today of marxism and communism is no longer negative. In the past we were not imitators and we aie still not imitators, but we must take what is of benefit to us in our socialist struggle.

« A speech to the Branches - The Syrian Region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

Leftism does not mean extremism, demagogy and insolent exaggerations. It is not to calumniate others. Leftism is a realistic analysis and practical stands, its objective reasoning is not affected by desires, ambitions and transitory influences but is governed by a scientific spirit, detachment and honesty.

« A speech to the Branches - The Syrian Region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

Our party has distinctive characteristics. The communist party has behind it theories written and collected during scores of years. Books and studies were written about it before the party was established. As for the Baath party, it entered the struggle in the first day of its foundation. The generation which founded the party was involved in the struggle. They did not start their struggle with the party, but with every individual who had his own history of struggle. The party is not founded on paper but by a power experienced and prepared for the struggle. Through the struggle this power has gradually obtained a clearer picture of its work, and while so doing it defines its theory. This is how the Baath started.

« A speech to the Branches - The Syrian Region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

Our nation has been built since ancient times, by their sweat, their efforts and sacrifices, by their heroism. They are the toiling majority who constitute our people and who build our present and future. This great role of the toiling masses, the workers, was not recognised in the past. For this reason our country was asleep, imprisoned in backwardness and vulnerable. It was subjected to imperialism and occupation, to the ugliest kinds of exploitation and oppression. This was because the role of the toilers has not been discovered yet. The truth was not made public clearly and frankly. That was the age of backwardness.

« The role of the working class in building the revolution, 3 - November, 1969 ».

The working class, by virtue of its social position, by dint of its revolutionary consciousness and its socialist awareness, recognises more than any other, the requisites of the new circumstance and knows that we are approaching hard and harsh times. These coming years will test our ability to survive and will test the capacity of the Arab nation for survival. Will it be able to defend its existence by arms and intelligence, by fighting and construction, by the rejection of backwardness of all types and forms, in order to enter at one stroke the world of light and civilisation, organised life, creative life which will release the talents of man instead of killing his vitality and his urges towards good and creativeness?

« The role of the working class in building the Arab revolution, 3 - November, 1969 ».

The fundamental disease which prevented the Arab revolution from coming to full fruition and attaining all its objectives and goals in the best and most complete way, and the essential reason for this failure is the deficiency of its view of the people, a lack of appreciation for the role of the toiling class, the working class. This is the core of the matter upon which we should throw light so that its treatment becomes a starting point for renewal and rectification of our revolution in the whole of the Arab homeland.

« The role of the working class in building the Arab revolution, 3 - November, 1969 ».

We are part of the working class. True socialists consider themselves part of the working class. The socialist rule is that which is led by the working class, giving attention to what it can give and create in the life of the nation and in the battle of destiny, than viewing the possible mistakes made through practice, or the details of action. This is the leap required from the revolution,

the whole Arab revolution in every Arab region, for such shortsightedness was a stumbling block in the past.

« The role of the working class in building the Arab revolution, 3 - November, 1969 ».

For socialism, in order to acquire meaning, scope and be of benefit, the nation must survive, the homeland must be safeguarded. We have to save the land and protect it. We must restore the plundered soil and stand up in the face of all imperialist and Zionist plots. As you know, this is the distinctiveness of your party, for it has not become satisfied with half-truths. It has not stood in mid-air. It has stood, from its inception, from the outset, on solid ground, because it has combined the goals of the popular masses in just and dignified life with the relations of these masses to a soil, a homeland, a heritage, history, independence and a restoration of unity of all parts of this nation which should have been lost. The task of the working class is to produce with one hand and fight by the other or if necessary fight with the two hands and defer everything else, for rescuing the homeland from aggression, and imperialist threats is superior to every other task.

« The working class is the hope of the future, 3 - May 28, 1969 ».

The peasant class in our country, my comrades, if it could be said that it suffered the burdens of ages of backwardness, it could also be said that it carries, through its practice in life, its behaviour and ethics, through its view of life and its patriotic, national and human bonds, the essence of civilisation. Backwardness does not preclude deep rootedness in civilisation, and our people is deep-rooted and our Arab peasant is deep-rooted. It is the duty of the party and its militants, when working and co-operating whith our people in the country, to discover daily these Arab cultural features that our peas-

ants live in their behaviour and practice, even though they do not learn them in schools.

« The steadfast region has to carry the responsibility for the Arab destiny, 7 - June 21, 1974 ».

Industrialisation is a tremendous productive force and it is also a force of defense which protects sovereignity, dignity and freedom. If I say that we are looking forward to the day when we shall produce rifles and guns, it is not because we love war and destruction but because we love liberty and independence and because we know perfectly well from experience that no peace can exist if it is not protected by force.

« Our ambition should be great and we must build a pioneering experience, 7 - June 22, 1974 ».

In all quarters which I encounter I see and sense aspects and bonds that connect them to with the party and the revolution. But at the same time I feel there is a number of elements lacking for the picture to become complete. Awakening is necessary as well as struggle. It is also necessary to explain ideologically and guide in practice. Continuous vigilance must not relax. All this is in order to avoid deviations and to assure that the march will not be obstructed. The toiling classes with the working class as their vanguard have the perfect picture and the perfect conditions for the Arab revolution. They are the origin. They are the body, while the other groups and quarters are complements and assistants in one aspect or another. The origin is the people, the greatest number, with their toiling class, with their liberated and revolutionary spirit, with their life projecting the sufferings of our nation and representing its will and aspiration, its will for liberation and its aspiration to build the Arab future we seek.

« The working class is a guarantee for the success of the revolution and the values of the party - Speech in the headquarters of the trade unions in the region of Iraq - June 22, 1974 ».

The Heritage

Everything that Islam has achieved in victories and culture was in the germinal stage in the first twenty years of the message. Before they conquered the lands, the Arabs had conquered themselves and penetrated into the innermost of their souls. Before they governed nations, they governed themselves and controlled their passions and were in possession of their wills.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

We might not be seen among those who pray and we might not fast with those who fast, but we believe in God because we are in dire need of Him. Our burden is onerous, our road is rough and our aim is high. We have reached this faith, we did not start with it. We arrived at it through sufferings and hardships and did not receive it by inheritance nor was it handed down to us conventionally. For this reason it is invaluable for us, being the fruit of our efforts.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

Until now the life of the prophet was regarded from the outside, as an admirable image for our appreciation and consecration. We now have to start looking at it from within, so that we can live it. Every Arab at present can live the life of the Arab prophet even though by comparison he is no more than a stone to the mountain or a drop of water to the sea. Naturally, no man, however great he is, is capable of doing what Mohammed did. It is also natural that any man, however small his capacity, could be a miniature of Mohammed, so

long as he belongs to the nation which concentrated all its powers to produce Mohammed. Or rather, so long as this man is one with a nation which Mohammed concentrated all his efforts to produce. Sometime in the past the life of a whole nation was summarised in one man. Today the whole life of this nation in its revival should be the detail of the life of its great man. Mohammed was all the Arabs. Let all the Arabs of today be Mohammed.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet - April, 1943 ».

But does this mean that Islam has come to be confined to the Arabs? Il we say this we shall be far from the truth and so deviate from reality. Every great nation, deeply connected with the eternal meanings of the universe, moves in its very genesis towards the eternal and universal values. Islam is, therefore, for the Arab people in its actuality and for all mankind in its ideal objectives. The message of Islam is to create Arab humanism.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

Therefore the meaning which Islam reveals in this historic and important epoch and at this decisive stage in development is that all the efforts should be directed to strengthening the Arab and awakening them and that these efforts should be within the framework of Arab nationalism.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

A day will come when the nationalists will find themselves the only defenders of Islam. They will have to give a special meaning it if they want the Arab nation to have a good reason for survival.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

The pure nationalist idea in the West was consistent with itself when it separated nationalism from religion. Religion entered Europe from the outside, therefore it is alien to its character and history. It is a combination of

other-wordly faith and morals. It was not revealed to them originally in their languages. It did not express the needs of their environment nor was it fused with their history. Islam, on the other hand, is to the Arabs, not only an otherworldly faith nor is it merely a moral code, but it is also the clearest expression of their universal feeling and their view of life. It is the strongest expression of the unity of their personality in which word, feeling, thought, mediation, action, soul, and destiny, are all integrated and work in harmony together.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

The connection of Islam to Arabism is not, therefore, similar to that of any religion to any nationalism. The Arab Christians, when their nationalism is fully awakened and when they restore their genuine character, will recognise that Islam for them is nationalist education in which they have to be absorbed in order to understand and love it to the extent that they become concerned about Islam as about the most precious thing in their Arabism. If the actual reality is still far from this wish, the new generation of Arab Christians has a task which it should perform with daring and detachment, sacrificing for it their pride and benefits, for there is nothing that equals Arabism and the honour of belonging to it.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet - April, 1943 ».

Islam is nothing but offspring of sufferings, the sufferings of Arabism. These sufferings have come back to the Arab land in a degree of violence and depth unknown to the Arabs of Jahilyah (Pre-Islamic Arabs). How many more such sufferings will be brought by a cleansing revolution equal to the revolution that Islam carried on its banner? Only the new Arab generation can shoulder the responsibility for such a revolution and appreciate its necessity, for the sufferings of the present time have prepared it to do so. Its love of its soil and history has prepared it for knowing its spirit and orientation.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

The true glorification of heroism stems from participating in it and assessing it through suffering and experience. No one can appreciate the hero if he has not realised at least a small part of heroism in his own life.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

There is a great gap separating this nation from its past. There is also a great gap between it and the other nations of the present time. This nation pursues one goal which may seem at first sight a double one. It wants to be elevated and be equal to its glorious past and be developed to reach the present stage of other nations... Thus its remembrance of its past and its awareness of the present of other nations become a dual urge for it to rise. We would say in other words that it should have from its awareness of the present of other nations and its remembrance of its past an impetus as well as an inevitable course of action.

« The duty of nationalist action - 1943 ».

We should not forget that Arab culture in the past was not possible and could not have been realised had it not been for that period of struggle which did not take more than a few decades; but it was the spiritual yeast, the psychological and moral treasure which premitted the Arabs to expand, spread and intermingle with various nations who were in a luxurious cultural milieu. In spite of the latter they were able to retain their capacity for creativity and inventiveness.

« The party of overthrow - February, 1949 ».

Our past was an overthrow. We shall not reach its level except through overthrow. The new overthrow is the conscious and faithful march towards that promotory where contradictions are solved and contrasts unified, where the past and the future meet and the nation is reconcible with itself through creativeness and the delivery of its message.

« Some meanings of the overthrow, 1 - February, 1950 ».

The past as the reality of the Arab soul, as an actual reality of the Arab soul, cannot come or return and descend on us. We have to march towards it in progressive and forward way. We have to rise and ascend to it. We have to go to it through a rough on tiring road so that we cultivate in ourselves the virtues, gifts and forces which will enable us at last to understand it. Then we will be fused with it when meeting it. The forward march, the ascending advance on the road of overthrow is the only way for us to meet our past and this meeting cannot take place except through ascension. It cannot be a descensions or a motion downwards, nor can it be reached through inertia and immobility.

« The meanings of the overthrow, 1 - February, 1950 ».

Our attachment to the Spirit of the nation and its heritage will increase our drive, strengthen our forward march and ensure our orientation, thus we shall not be irresolute for we shall then be confident that everything will be consonant with the spirit of our nation. When our point of departure is strong, which is the saturation in the spirit of our nation and the clear understanding of ourselves and our reality, truly sensing our needs, we shall not be susceptible to assuming artificial ideas or imitating others. Our ideas will be natural to us and creatively so for they will be the result of our true feeling and our true needs. Our sense of this profound nationalist bond with our nation will open our eyes to our present and painful state of affairs and will let us see the contrast between our reality and our truth. It will give us with the responsability of saving the nation, and consequently will let us reach the overthrow.

« The relation between Arabism and the movement of overthrow, 1 - 1950 ».

The past for which we long and which was the reason for the strength of the Arabs, their freedom and their historic renaissance is it anything but a true and coura-

geous progressivism compared with the thinking and conditions preceeding it?

« Progressivism is the way to contact our past, 1 - Al-Baath - February 7, 1950 ».

Our strength, therefore, is not only the strength of the large number of the Arabs at this time but it is also the strength of Arab history for we are marching in the direction of the genuine Arab Spirit, we are acting according to what our heroic ancestors would want us to do at all times.

« The Arab Baath is the will of life, 1 - April, 1950 ».

We are supported by three fundamental forces sufficient to fill our hearts with confidence and determination. The force of the Arab people present time, that of Arab history in the past and the force of human history in its progress toward liberty, socialism and unity.

« The Arab Baath is the will of life, 1 - April, 1950 ».

It could be said that Syria represents the focal point of the currents that attract the Arabs in our time. It is open to the impact of Western culture while its heart is full of Arab sentiments and memories. For this reason every interaction between Syria and the cultures of modern times stirs its Arabic conscience and leads to a new expression of this conscience, awakened to new conditions of life.

« The Arabs between their past and their future, 1 - 1950 ».

Destructiveness does not lie, as the exploiting and conservative cliques pretend, in the surges of liberation, but in the misguidance which retards the release of living elements from the prison of a conservative milieu and delays the deliverance of the liberation forces from false, superficial and degenerate conditions.

« The Arabs between their past and their future, 1 - 1950 ».

Any definition of the spirit and its values which does not essentially include the impact of the economic factors, assess their importance and envisage their results is an inadequate and false definition. The danger to spirit does not come from those who deny it and who challenge it but from those who feign it and conceal some of its fundamental aspects. Any emphasis on spiritual values that stops at words and abstract principles and does not dare to face the real truths and the march with the principle to the end of the road of realisation, is in fact treason and a denial of the soul as well at it is a confirmation of its opposite, that is, a screen concealing blind matter.

« The Arabs between their past and their future, 1 - 1950 ».

The Arab Baath is a nationalist movement which addresses itself to all Arabs of all religions and sects and sanctifies the freedom of faith and looks at religions with equal respect and appreciation. But it sees in Islam a nationalist aspect of grave importance in the formation of the Arab history and nationality. The Baath considers this aspect to have close connection with the spiritual heritage of the Arabs and the qualities of their genius. The Arab Baath was the first movement to clarify this connection and it has put it in its final formula, thus resolving an age-old crisis and saving Arab nationalism from two deviated concepts: The concept of abstract nationalism which imposes artificiality and impoverishment on it, and concept of religious nationalism which condemns it to contradiction and annihilation.

« The Arabs between their past and their future, 1 - 1950 ».

As religion is the overflowing spring of the soul, the secularism which we want for the state is one that by liberating religion from the exigencies and intricacies of politics will allow it to soar freely in the life of individuals and society, instilling its profound and genuine spirit which is a pre-requisite for the revival of the nation.

« The Arabs between their past and their future - 1950 ».

It is quite natural, therefore, that the people closest to Islam and the most keenly sensitive and responsive to it are the revolutionary generation, the generation in revolt against the corrupt old. But we do not see this, in other words, the revolutionary generation, either entirely or in its majority, does not recognise this connection between itself and Islam, while those who pretend to be aware of this connection and cling to it are the enemies of the revolution, the representatives of old conditions which must be eradicated for the Arab nation to rise.

« Our view of religion, 1 - March, 1956 ».

Religion, as it appears to us when reviewing the history of mankind from the most ancient times to the present day, is fundamental in the life of humanity. In this we leave behind the cheap cynicism with regard to religion assumed by some young but shallow people. The question of religion is quite serious and we cannot solve it by words or by a superficial and transient judgement. But we have to differentiate between religion with its true and genuine aims and religion as incorporated, or as it appears, in certain concepts, conventions, customs and interests, in certain conditions and places.

« Our view of religion - March, 1956 ».

If we imagine the first Muslims who knew the fight for the principle and who experienced all its hardships, passed its test and paid its price, if we emagine that community or certain of its members coming today and descending on our present Arab life ... imagine them in their revolutionary and struggling frame of mind, with their acute sense of what is right, and their conviction that right is a sacred thing the knowledge of which is not sufficient, but we have to teach it to the others and we have to be ready to die for it until the others can have it, this is the frame of mind of the believer in the call of his right. Should they come today, which milieu they would find appropriate and trustworthy, where they feel at home? It is that of social injustice, that of the

rich and distinguished men of society, the exploiters of the people who sleep soundly while ninety per cent of our people live in misery, desease and indignity? Could they live with this class of exploiters and occupiers of leading positions? Or would they live with those who defend that class, at times in the name of religion, at others by any other name? I believe that the first Muslims, should they come back today, would not find life bearable except in dark and miserable villages, together with the oppressed and the enslaved, and in prisons together with the fighters, for those who urge for right always side with right.

« Our view of religion, 1 - March, 1956 ».

We do not approve of atheism and do not encourage it. We consider it a fake attitude towards life. A false, injurious and fallacious stance, for life means belief, and the atheist is a liar, he says something and believes in something else.. he is a believer in something, in certain values. We see in atheism a pathological sympton the causes of which must be known for it to be cured and do not view it as something that should be punished as this will not eliminate atheism but increase it. When we find the causes then we can eradicate atheism.

I said that atheism is a false attitude and this means that the atheist pretends something but acts on something different. The revolution against religion in Europe is itself a religion. It is a belief in high and human ideals and values. It is nearer to the true and genuine religion. That revolution has carried the seeds of creativeness and reform as it has shaken society and individuals in a violent manner. It has lead them to know themselves and shown them the deceit by which they were duped for long. It has liberated them, released their humanity and individuality. However, this attitude is inadequate. When the revolution has induced them to reject religion, it has awakened them to half of the problem. Religion in the present state of affairs only creates the problem and helps increase misery and servitude. When the peoples become fully awakened and when they restore their rights

and dignity, they will not be content with atheism. Then they will take the new step and make the deficiency good by a positive step, by going back to a sound, clear and healthy religion in full consonance with its early goals.

« Our view of religion - March, 1956 ».

Therefore, communism is not profound in every aspect, although in many of its aspects it is very profound. It has remained negative in many situations: Marxism has observed, and justly so, that religion in Europe has become a weapon in the hands of oppressors, exploiters and imperialists, in order to keep the people under the yoke of exploitation and enslavement. That observation is right, sound and is deriven from reality: Marxism says religion is the opium of the peoples, the drug... the poison preventing the people from revolution, therefore Marxism declares atheism a creed, atheism with regard to everything that goes beyond the senses. This is a sentimental view, full of bias and rancour, induced by suffering from injustice: the true message of religion and the original good of religion are to spread justice and lift injustice, but according to Marxism religion has become a means for oppression, and humanity must be liberated from it.

« Our view of religion - March, 1956 ».

In our national life there is an event of grave importance: the emergence of Islam. It is a national as well as a human and international event .I do not see that the Arab youths are giving this event the careful attention that is due it. I do not see that they study it and comprehend all its teachings and significance for in it there is an infinite greatness, a tremendous experience of humankind that could enrich them, and enrich their practical as well as political education. It could enrich everything for the Arab youths.

« Our view of religion - March, 1956 ».

Marxism is based on the denial and negation of any creed transcending nature and matter as well as percep-

tion. This is not, in Marxism, a result of the incapacity of understanding. It has a practical motivation: as religion has been used through out history, and especially throughout modern history, where class differences and class exploitation have been aggravated, to perpetuate and buttress exploitation, as it has been used to prevent human emancipation, siding with backwardness, oppression and injustice, Marxism found it necessary to root it out. The reason is practical and is not an incapacity to understand the importance of religion and its true nature. We do not approve of this motivation in spite of its realism for it shows a lack of confidence in man by assuming that he cannot bear the truth in its fullness. Although we adopt a critical view of religion, and in spite of our knowledge of the reactionary use religion has been put to, making it a support for injustice, backwardness and enslavement, we trust that man can rebel against this way of using religion and against the false and distorted religiosity and at the same give to true religion its due care and attention.

« The question of religion in the Arab Baath, 1 - April, 1956 ».

We consider religious reaction and social reaction as one camp defending the same interests and believe that religious reaction constitutes the greatest danger to religion. This reaction carries the banner of religion in our time, deals with it, exploits it and fights any liberation in its name while lets it intrude into all matters great and small in order to hamper the new march. Had it not been for us and for our movement the Arab society would have been threatened by disfiguration through atheism. In our uncompromising and unappeased resistance to religious reaction and with our daring and steadfast stands vis-à-vis this reaction, we are rescuing our Arab society from the mutilation of atheism.

« The question of religion and the Arab Baath - April, 1956 ».

The doctrinal movement cannot grow if it ceases to have a bond with its heritage and its past. This does not mean that we should stand still with regard to the past, but that we should have a living and conscious link with it in a way that realises the unity of the party, its march and the soundness of its orientation.

« A speech to the branches of the Syrian region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

The Arab Baath was the first, a quarter of a century ago, to give another precious value, another spiritual value, religion, its due. Religion has revealed its creative, true and positive aspect, after progressive movements in the world have seen in it only a means to misguide the people, a means used by the exploiters and oppressors of the people. They looked at it as something to drug the people with, and deceive it and kill the spirit of revolution and struggle in it. The Arab Baath came and started its struggle and its history by exposing the genuine face of religion, and especially the face of the great heritage of the Arab nation and the eternal message of which we are all proud. Why, brethren, then do we not see the treasures discovered by our party, why do we hesitate in appreciating these values?

« In memory of the Ramadhan Revolution, 3 - February 8, 1965 ».

Our party was the one that revealed the positive aspect of religion in backward countries. It has said that not all religion have sided with reaction and that religion has revolutionary aspects. We now see that the political movements in Africa and Asia are moving in this direction. Read, my comrades, the writings of African thinkers, and you will find that they have some back to the truths which we have been propagating for a quarter of a century.

« A speech to the branches of the Syrian region, 3 - January 8, 1966 ».

If certain nationalisms have followed the way of bigotry and oppression, it is necessary that we follow in beat they tracks? Our nationalism has a guarantee from the past because it is accompanied by a humane message. This is something particular to the Arabs. Their message is spiritual and they envisage their nationalism as a means to achieve their message. The guarantee that comes from the present is that for the people who suffer from injustice, weakeness, fragmentation and the foreign rule, this very suffering becomes a protective idea, for it can by analogy and spiritual sympathy, understand the meaning and the impact of injustice on the others.

« The abstract thinking, 1 - 1943 ».

Immortality is not the advance of the present toward the future but the carrying of the future to the present. The heroes of Arabism (Uruba) in the past have not become immortal because they performed great feats but they performed great feats because they were living in their life within the sphere of immortality.

« The new Arab generation, 1 - 1944 ».

This nation which expressed itself and its sense of life in various ways, in the codes of Hammurabi, in the poetry of Jahiliyah (Pre-Islam), in the religion of Mohammed, in the culture of the age of Al-Ma'moon, has one feeling which moves it in all the ages and one goal in spite of periods of interruption and deviation.

« On the Arab message, 1 - 1946 ».

We believe that Arabism (Uruba) is above everything, meaning that it is above interests, selfishness, ephemeral on false considerations but there is one thing which we believe to be above Uruba and that is right. Uruba should be linked to a constant principle which alone will guarantee the reneval, integrity and continuation of its life, directed to growth and expansion. Our slogan should, therefore, be, that right is above Uruba until such time as Uruba is united with right.

« On the Arab message, 1 - 1946 ».

The eternal Arab message is to understand this present, respond to its call and satisfy its requirements. Immortality is not something distant on the horizon or outside the confines of time. It springs from the depths of the present. If the Arabs understand it truly and live it faithfully, they will be able to perform their eternal mission. When they understand this experience and live it to the end, when they overcome their weakness, reluctance, their shallow and feigned motives they will not only build their nation and establish a national entity but they will offer the whole humanity, through this experience, adequate means to carry the greatest and truest of missions.

« On the Arab message, 1 - 1946 ».

Brethren, at time when waves of pessimism and defeatism increase as do calamities and disasters, the true Arabs feel that the day of salvation is approaching, for the road has been opened at last for the Arab psyche to be shaken, to be deeply moved so that it remembers itself, and its task and rises with alacrity, vitality and faith, finding all sufferings and sucrifice sweet for the sake of achieving its mission in existence. In these times, when disasters abound and pessimists are plentiful, the truly faithful must emerge and true faith cannot be acquired except through experience and suffering.

« The meaning of the eternal message - 1950 ».

We struggle and combat the dismemberment of the Arab nation into artificial and false small states, so that we can attain the unification of these dispersed parts and reach a healthy and natural state in which no amputated member could ever speak in the name of the whole. When we deliver ourselves from this unnatural situation, then the Arabs will all meet together with their souls and ideas purified, and their morals unblemished. They will have an open horizon for their minds to become creative, for they will then be a normal and sound en-

tity, one nation. This is the healthy and true experience with which to ward off those conditions until we reach the right conditions. This is the Arab mission and a mission is what is offered by one segment of humanity to all mankind. The significance of the message will not be adequate if it relies on narrowness and selfishness, but has to have an eternal, humane and comprehensive meaning.

« On the meanings of the overthrow, 2 - February, 1950 ».

The Arab message is not words we sing. It is not principles contained in the programs, nor is it articles in legislation. All these things are dead and feigned, for between us and the time in which we can legislate, inspired by our message, there is a long distance and a big gap. What is this message?

It is our life itself. It is that we accept experiencing this life, that we go through a tremendous, profound, genuine experience which is commensurate with the greatness of the Arab nation, equal to the depths of afflictions suffered by the Arabs, equal to the magnitude of the dangers threatening the survival of the nation. This is true and living experience which will bring us at last to ourselves, to our living reality, and will entrust us with our responsibilities and place us on our right track so that we can combat these diseases and barriers, these false conditions, and struggle against social injustice.

« On the meanings of the overthrow, 1 - February, 1950 ».

Life cannot be constantly based on inconsistency. It has to find a way to resolve it, either by deadening the urge for the mission and the genuine aims, by acquiescing to facile reality and surrendering to it, or by moving the forces that respond to the aspiration of the nation to realise the genuinenesse of its existence. This movement is to transfer this aspiration from the realm of sentimental and inactive wishfullness to a combattive interaction with the wills, forces and vital interests, to bring forth the potential of the nation that are contained in it.

« The Battle between superficial and genuine existence, 2 ».

The Humanitarian Role of the Arab Revolution

The Arabs are doing harm to humanity by their weakness, for they do not occupy an effective place among nations. In this state they jeopardise themselves as well as the others as they are a battleground of rivalries, greeds and imperialism which has entered the Arab lands.

The greatest service the Arabs can render to humanity is to rise with their nationality to the level of humanity.

« The abstract thinking, 1 - 1943 ».

Thus things will reassume their natural form and reveal themselves as they are. The Arabs will then be convinced, as will the whole world, that in the living and healthy constitution, that of the Arab nation, will be realised what has escaped being realised in many: the harmony of the freedom of the individual and the community with the unity of the nation, the consonance of the right of the citizen with the power of the state.

The expression of this idea is the formation of one Arab party, unified in direction, leadership and planning over all the Arab regions, for the Arab nation is in dire needs of unity so that it can completely bring up all its potentialities and powers.

These powers and potentials will not only guarantee the liberation of the Arabs from all kinds of imperialism but will also establish for the world a new Arab culture.

« For one Arab nation there is one popular action, 4 - Al-Baath - March 11, 1947 ».

It was neither imaginable nor reasonable that the crisis of the nationalisation of a navigation company should take such large proportions and international importance were it not that behind it lies the history of a whole nation in state of constitution and fermentation and were this state not synchronised with a state of constitution and fermentation over the whole world. Behind all this there was a grand cause, wanting to express itself. This is at the same time the Arab cause and the cause of man.

« No going back, no retreat, 2 - September 14, 1956 ».

This increasing and deep interaction between our struggle for liberation and the destiny of the peoples and their freedom is apt to open up before our fight, with its ideology and horizons, new horizons which are rich in significance. Our liberty appears to us today as bearing the responsabilities for the liberties of other peoples. It has for this reason become more mature, more profound and more realistic.

« Our revolution on the road of maturity, 2 - October 5, 1956 ».

The Arab Baath could either be nationalist or be nothing at all, for its nationalism is the guarantee of its humanity. The dependence of the Baath movement on the struggle of the oppressed masses expresses our faith that these masses represent, as a result of the injustice they have suffered, the guarantee of the sincerity of the nationalism of Al-Baath, for our humanity is not idealistic, lacking the sense of suffering and the blood of life. It is the outcome of our hard struggle and the summing-up of our sufferings and tragedies as well as our shouldering the responsibility of our destiny as a nation with a past, for all its good and bad points, and a nation with a present, for all its cruelty and gravity.

« The battle between superficial and genuine existence, 2 ».

It is neither strange nor accidental that our relation to humanity should become clear and at the same time the constituent parts of our Arab unity become solidified as we become increasingly more eager to achieve this unity. The closer we get to ourselves, the nearer we get to humanity, the more we become confident of our identity, the more this identity becomes open to others.

« The human nationalism, 2 - December 28, 1956 ».

Humanism is in nationalism. It comes neither before nor after it. There is not nationalism and humanism, only human nationalism which is the correct one, the other is deviationist and distorted nationalism because it is separated from humanism.

« The human nationalism, 2 - December 28, 1956 ».

Nationalism is not, as shallow thinking misrepresents it, a rung in the ladder of development and evolution. It is wrong to maintain that between it and humanity there is a fundamental barrier and a disparity in the degree and value of each. Nationalism is the soil of humanity and it is the living space for impregnating it. Humanism is not a social or political condition that can be achieved materially in history, but a spirit, direction, ideals that take root in the constitution of the peoples and nations, colour their cultures and orient their conduct and morals. Humanism, therefore, accompanies nationalism and is not its follower.

« Nationalism is a living reality with a humanist and positive content, 2 - March 22, 1957 ».

The deep and genuine needs of any nation, and particularly our nation in its present condition and historical stage, inevitably involve the necessity for solid and clear co-operation between that nation and other nations. To put it more precisely, the necessity for an international co-operation in which that nation is an effective part. We

consider that the movement from within outwards is the sound direction and not the reverse, for enforcing on nations and peoples a certain rule from above or from the outside remains, to a great extent, in practice and action, and in the present world conditions, whatever the checks and restrictions, a manipulation of those nations and peoples in the service of the direction of a certain nation embodying that rule.

« The Baath is a revival from within, 2 - March, 1957 ».

I have maintained that our ambition does not finish with ousting the imperialists from our soil and stopping the exploiters inside the country. It does not stop at the stage of securing liberty and prosperity for the people. All these are but means for the release of what is genuine in this nation toward creation, toward serious participation in shouldering the burdens of humanity.

« The ambition of Al-Baath, 1 - March, 1957 ».

The struggle of the peoples against imperialism, and especially the struggle of the Arab nation, which constitutes today the greatest power in the Middle East, would not have arisen with this strength, and this surge and would not have gained the support of the Arab masses and the sympathy of the peoples of the world, had it confined itself to hate of foreigners and the mere desire to be delivered from foreign rule. Its strength lies in its positive goals which are felt by every Arab, and every Arab is anxious to expedite realising them for his own good and the good of the world.

« The experience of the Arabs is a fundamental factor in the formation of the new world, 2 - November, 1957 ».

This conference is valuable in the estimation of the Arabs for it brings them, as representatives of the Arab people, together with the representatives of the European peoples, big and small, but especially the big ones whose

states have exercised their imperialism on us in the name of these peoples. We have therefore endeavoured to make this conference an opportunity for reciprocal understanding among free men so that the Europeans will realise that the experience of the Arab and the Oriental peoples is fundamental, and that the struggle of oriental peoples is closely linked with the progress of the peoples of Europe itself, and that the continuation of imperialism in our countries will force Europe to be isolated from the revolutionary current therefore it will, become stagnant in reaction, and consequently cease its cultural participation.

« The experience of the Arabs is a fundamental factor in the formation of the new world, 2 ».

This unity, reviving our self-confidence, has started our reconciliation with the world and eradicated vestiges of negativism which distorted the clarity of our vision and stifled the spontaneity of our uige to bear the burden of our human mission. This unity is surely capable of removing our negative view of ourselves so that we increase our confidence in the genuineness of our people and the richness of its potential and consequently become more in harmony with our revolutionary principles and more daring in their application.

« This unity is Arab and world revolution, 2 - February 8, 1958 ».

We now see that after the real revolution has arisen, the peoples of the world and its states come to know and to know themselves, their identity and their future through the attitude they take vis-a-vis the revolution of Arab nationalism.

« The Algerian revolution and the revolution of unity, 2 - April 4, 1958 ».

The similarity between us and the West is in fact very remote or non-existent. The West has not passed

through the ordeals, tragedies, sufferings and subjection to imperialism and fragmentation etc... The nationalist movements in the West, emerged in different conditions, and was accompanied by ambition and the discovery of new riches and the discovery of the new science. From the beginning, from birth they were afflicted by the diseases of expansionism and hegemony. Our nationalist movement, however, started as the most humane response to the oppression of man by man..., to the human condition as a whole. This nationalism has emerged ripened by all the sufferings sustained by us as if we sustained them on behalf of all the peoples of the earth, The possibility that this nationality may end up to where the West ended up is very unlikely.

« The humanism of the struggle of the Arab nation, 5 - Baghdad - Late - July, 1958 ».

Nationalism is the real theatre for the realisation of humanism. Humanism which side-steps nationalism and becomes imaginary will not find a soil on which to establish itself. It remains in the mind rather than in reality. More often it ends up in narrow fanaticism, bigotry and regionalism.

« The landmarks of progressive nationalism, 1 - 1960 ».

The Arab future will not be built except by science.. by objective scientific thinking, liberated, daring and exploring. You refer, as you must now, to the fact that the Arab future will not be realised as we wish it, except through Arab unity and the feeling that we are a great nation that has a humanist message, and that if we do not occupy our place in this world and among nations, the whole world will remain lacking in balance and wanting in a fundamental factor of its constitution.

« The future will not be built except by science and through the Arab unity - Baghdad, 7 - June 20, 1974 ».

The Overthrow and the Revolution

Had the reform of our situation been easily realisable we would not have been in need of reform. Had the majority of the people been able to recognise what was right easily and act according to it, there would have been no need for anybody to urge them to observe it. Had the persons, capitulating to what is actual and being happy with it, been worthy of carrying the banner of revolt against it, the history of mankind would have been without revolutions, and mankind would have had no history.

« The Seeds of Al-Baath - Al-Baath, 4 - July 3, 1946 ».

We believe that the direction of the present rule is incompatible with what we want, and that it is incompatible with the interest of the nation and the homeland. This practise of stifling freedoms, of tampering with the constitution, of rigging the elections and influencing the judiciary.. all this upsets public security, and disturbs peace. It provokes rioting and revolution.

When all the legal roads are closed to the people the only road open is that of revolution. Who is the provoker? Are we the provokers or the rulers?

« Defense before the court of appeal, 4 - October 20, 1948 ».

How could a party with a mission be able to carry its mission? By being the nation of overthrow before realising the overthrow of the nation.

« The Party of Overthrow, 1 - February, 1949 ».

The real party, the living party which can perform a mission in the present age for the Arab nation is the one that has as its goal the creation of a nation or its revival, provided that it realises this in itself first, that is, it becomes itself a nation in miniature, a pure, healthy and noble nation which it aspires to revive.

« The Party of overthrow, 1 - February, 1949 ».

When facing a new period we have to consider first the lesson of the period that ended and will never come back. We should learn from its errors and rectify them and build our rule from the outset on the real power, the popular power.

Brethren, what happened in Syria is not an overthrow, but it is in fact a step to overthrow. We rejoice in this event and set our hope on it, but we have to expand our horizon, organise our ranks and look always in front of us, to the heights. The overthrow to which the Arab nation aspires is a comprehensive overthrow. The overthrow which we should always pursue and should make our present coup d'état a means and a step towards, is the overthrow that will realise for the Arab people in all its regions Arab Socialism and Arab unity.

« The overthrow and the Arab people, 4 - April, 1949 ».

The overthrow movement has two kinds of enemies, the overt enemy which includes all reactionary groups and parties (and reaction includes political, ideological and economie reaction) and the covert enemy which is the false progressive and nationalist parties and groupings. Our movement has therefore two duties; to protect its ideological direction, and its practical orientation. Any loosening or deviation in principles will make it an easy prey for reaction, and any loosening or deviation in the method of action will threaten it with disunity and fragmentation. The organisation required is one that saves it from these two damages, thus ensuring the constancy of the ideology and the unity of the movement.

« The organisation of overthrow, 1 - February, 1950 ».

The overthrow, then, is the way, the way to the desired end, to the healthy society to which we aspire, but it is not a way among ways, it is the only way.

« Of the meanings of overthrow, 1 - February, 1950 ».

The overthrow is truth overcoming actuality, for the nation has, despite its backwardness and defacement, a truth and this announces itself whatever the supremancy of the actual is. The overthrow is this announcement, this proof of the existence of the truth. The overthrow is the future overcoming the present, for our goals, stemming from our depths and from our spirit, have shone and advanced before us, to induce us to march and race towards it. This is the future. The overthrow is, therefore, this future, which is the truth of ourselves and our objectives, pacing the false present, the present which is alien to our true reality.

« Of the meanings of overthrow - February, 1950 ».

The overthrow has but one clear and pure meaning which is the struggle and fight against the prevailing mentality, morals and interests. The Baath is born out of this combat.

« The link between Arabisim (Uruba) and the overthrow movement, 1 - 1950 ».

The overthrow movement means, by definition, that time should not be allowed to have supremacy over our affairs. The overthrow means that the condition of the nation has reached such a degree of foulness that leaving it to circumstances and evolution would expose it to annihilation. It is inevitable that the movement which will change these conditions will emerge before it is too late. It is then the movement which accelerates the tempo of time.

« Time and the overthrow movement, 1 - 1950 ».

Struggle should also take place within the self, especially the fighters and their selves, for there is nothing

more dangerous than the fighthers becoming stagnant, content with shallow concepts while they are entrusted with performing the overthrow in the life of this nation. If they become stagnant, how can they move others? The fighter should always be in struggle with himself in order to deepen his idea and constantly reconsider it. He should be on guard lest he deceive himself or lack courage to be more daring and more penetrating in learning his overthrow ideology until he reaches perfect purity and complete truthfulness.

« The Arab unity and socialism, 1 - February, 1956 ».

What we want to take place in our nation, after many decades, should appear now if only summarily and in miniature. It should appear in our struggle now. We want a free and dignified nation that believes in humanity and sublime values.. a nation with a mission, a mission of good. We cannot ignore those values today and put off their application until the realisation of our goals after decades. If those values have not been embodied in ourselves and in our actions since we started our struggle and since we have been conscious of them, we shall not realise them at any time in the future.

« The Arab unity and socialism, 1 - February, 1956 ».

The practical expression of this overthrow theory is the struggle in its widest sense for the re-education of the nation so that it will be able to face difficulties, to extract its buried powers and awaken its somnolent will, through confronting and colliding with hardships.

This struggle, as I said, should be conceived in its widest sense for it is at the same time a combat against foreign powers, which are Zionism and imperialist forces. It is a fight against degenerate conditions within the Arab homeland, whether they are political or social oppression, exploitation or ignorance, weakness in thought or bigotry, or a deficiency of love and tolerance.

« The Arab unity and socialism, 1 - February, 1956 ».

The Baath's party conception of our nationalist cause was founded on the basis that it is one cause, and that its resolution is subject to the achievement of an Arab overthrow, an overthrow in the profound meaning of the word which is not confined to politics but extends to thinking, to the spirit, to social education and economic conditions.

« The Arab unity and socialism, 1 - February, 1956 ».

The pretext of revolution at a stage where nothing but overthrow and revolution could be satisfactory, is nothing but a hidden reaction. It is taking the false evolutionary road which hampers the real evolution and runs counter to the revolution instead of being one of its stages. According to the logic of our revolutionary view there is a genuine place for true evolution as a stage leading to revolution. But true evolution can spring only from the revolutionary action itself, that is, from the pressure the popular powers brings to bear on the actual reality and their interaction with it in a guided and creative way.

« The revolutionism of the Arab cause, 2 - April 25, 1956 ».

The revolutionary policy is the healing medicine for the diseases of our national existence and the only and correct way to release the healthy and creative powers of the Arab people and attain their decisive victory over all the forces of evil and corruption inside and outside. This policy, by its seriousness and daring stands, profoundly shakes the consciousness of the people, brings to life its feeling of responsibility, and urges it to stand together and be efficient while at the same time this policy embarrasses and exposes the vacillating and plotting elements and forces them either to surrender or be unmasked. By this way the ranks of the people will be safe from every intruder and the people will win the battle since it will have known its power as it will have known its enemies.

« The revolutionary policy is the road to Arab co-operation, 2 - November 9, 1956 ».

Our revolution, in spite of the reservation we have mentioned, remains a revolution, that is, an acceleration and shortening of time. We, in spite of all we have, are in haste to gaining our liberation, unity and progress. When circumstances and events embarrass us, we may perhaps be relaxing the methods of revolution but we shall never relax in our belief in the necessity of the revolution and shall never substitute for it what imperialism and the West call evolution which is in reality nothing but backwardness and death.

« The liberation of the Arabs and their unity are the guarantee for their neutrality, 2 - December 7, 1956 ».

The Arab nation is beyond a doubt passing through a stage of revolution. It may be at this stage the richest nation on earth in revolutionary potentialities. It follows from this that its road is, in the broad sense, the road of modern revolutionary peoples and societies, and that its interest is not only in political solidarity with these peoples but also in social, cultural and civilised interaction with them. The Arabs have remained for long incapable of seeing the world except from one stand-point, that of the West.

« On the Eisenhower doctrine and the Afro-Asian conference republished in Al-Baath, 5 - November 1, 1957 ».

The stage of overthrow is similar to the state of war with all that war means in the way of vigilance, caution and the intensification of efforts and production, as well as the sacrifice of luxuries, the exploitation of all potential and renovation and creativeness in the ways, of putting them into use. Above all this means drawing up a comprehensive plan, marking the clear objectives, unifying the action and struggle and benefitting from every partial victory we can achieve in our long combat in order to nourish this very combat, enlarge its horizon and elevate its standard.

« Struggle on the level of the objectives and risks, 2 - January 25, 1957 ».

The greatest proof of the originality of the modern Arab revival is this all—powerful logic. When a revolution rises in one or more parts of our homeland and tends towards stability, crystallisation and introversion, another part of the homeland surprises it by preventing its crystallisation and freezing, opens for it the door to renovation and presents it with the cause of the Arab nation in all its intricacies profundity and expansion so that our nation will not be content to solve its problem with anything less than the solution worthy of a nation carrying a human message. This is the significance of the revolution in Iraq... it is a guarantee of the victories achieved by the Arabs up to now and a safeguard against inertia and deviation, as it is an acceleration of the birth and ripening of future victories which are latent in our people from the Arabian Gulf to the Atlantic.

« Statement to Baghdad Broadcasting Station after 14 July revolution, 5 - July, 1958 ».

When the Arab Baath Party emerged and when its ideology began to spread and become complete through interaction with events and struggle, its most important idea was from the outset, revolutionism, and the most important thing in revolutionism, as has known the Baath Party since the first years and since the first writings, is truthfulness, frankness and morality.

With this quality the Baath party was able to find its way to the hearts of the people until it spread throughout most of the Arab regions, from a beginning of extreme simplicity and modesty through a long history that has become an integral part of the history of our nation. How did this party have degenerate and how did it come to present an image which so sharply contrasts with those dinstinctive qualities, the image of artifice, and methods based on maneuvering and distortion of facts? Through fabrication, lying deceit and the use of everything except truthfulness, frankness, the respect of principles, and the respect of the people. The people will

never accept such methods even though they were subjected by force to them for a short period of time.

« A speech in the meeting of the National Leadership, 3 - December 19, 1965 ».

The revolution of the Arab nation in this age is war for it is the widest, the most complete and the surest scope for the flourishing of their talents and the release of their capacities and heroism. The culture which we seek to build cannot exist except through struggle in its highest stage and form, that is, the popular armed struggle. This culture will be based on the respect of principles and human ideals and the respect of man, his freedom and his dignity. It will also have its foundation in the respect of the freedom of peoples and the pursuit of genuine peace. The war of the Arabs in this age is the war of liberation, liberty and dignity and the defence of life.

The war of the Arabs is the culture and the revolution. It is the hight of organisation, science, discipline, sacrifice and morality.

« The regimes and the masses... two opposing facets of the Arab nation - The Arab Revolutionary - April 15, 1974 ».

When our national conditions are not equally sound, when there are regions subjugated to reactionary rule and others ruled by cheap and opportunist rulers who do not represent the dignity of the nation, its aspirations and pride, who capitulate in order to maintain the benefits of their rule, when this is the state of affairs, it is inevitable that one region must bear the responsibility for all or at least endeavour to do so. It should not be satisfied with satisfying it's own needs, it should be looking after the fate of the whole nation and shouldering its nationalist responsibility in addition to its own responsibility.

« The steadfast region must shoulder the responsibility of the Arab destiny, 7 - June 6, 1974 ».

The Struggle

We have never believed that the stage of construction had come. Construction cannot take place except in a unified Arab nation liberated from alla vestiges of foreign domination and influence. But our present task, after the foreigners have evacuated some of our regions, and their occupation of other regions has become less concentrated, is to build up the national struggle and strongly consolidate it.

« Our cause is still that of nationalist liberation, 4 - Al-Baath - August 19, 1946 ».

Real struggle can never be destruction, negativeness or inaction. It is creativeness, building, a fruitful and positive action. But its quality of innovation and creativeness makes it appear, in the eyes of many, especially those against whom it is directed, negative and destructive, because the very emergence of sound action destroys their degenerate hopes, and merely steering for the correct goal appears as a defiance to their crooked ways, and the rise of the new structure will put their decrepit buildings in the shadows, and reduce the space which they have been monopolising.

« The positive struggle is the way for this generation to achieve the overthrow, 4 - January, 1948 ».

The ethical views of the Arab Baath in its present form would be summarised in the following: as long as this kind of normal and dignified life is forbidden to the overwhelming majority of the people as a result of the

corrupt conditions, those who believe in the rights of the people will not agree to participate in a life they consider illegal and unjust for the people. Therefore they prefer the life of principles. Struggle and the serious law of life cannot allow the realisation of a great goal, an important progress and a fundamental overthrow without paying a high price for it which means sacrifice.

In the ideological and practical conditions that I have mentioned, the sound and successful methods of our movement are objectively adequate.

« The comprehensive ideological movement, 1 - 1950 ».

The struggle which is the practical expression of the idea of overthrow means that the nation awakens after that long slumber, after that relaxation and capitulation to easy and soft life, after that long absence of the spirit of serious and hard life. It means that the nation must have that nostalgia for combatting life and destiny and must look at life with a profound and heroic view and see value in the effort before seeing its fruits.

« The Arab Baath is the overthrow, 1 - 1950 ».

The way of combatants is hard in appearance but easy in fact, for they fight not only their own power, not in their limited and small number, but also because they fight armed with the interest of the larger number of the Arab people who are awakened by the advance in the vanguard and discover in that vanguard themselves their interest and their way. They fight with the will latent in the heart of the whole nation, the will which the nation lacked, as a daring model and example of movement from passiveness and slumber to awakening and action.

« The Arab Baath is the overthrow, 1 - February, 1950 ».

We struggle and fight the corrupt and false political and social conditions not merely to remove them and

exchange them for others but also in order that the nation may regains its unity through this very struggle.

« Of the meanings of overthrow, 1 - February, 1950 ».

The Arab nation is the victim of the harshest injustice known to this age. It cannot combat an injustice of this historic magnitude and overcome it unless it deepens its struggle in such a way that it touches the roots of humanity and meets every human and historic struggle. The Arabs have experienced the hard and bitter path. To the extent that their value has been reduced and their Spiritual level lowered, the masses of the people have become isolated from the conduct of their affairs and the fate of the nation has become a plaything in the hand of the wealthy, exploiters, amateurs and vain adventurers. The atmosphere becomes putrid, when degeneracy reigns pessimism spread and the human soul is deadened to the meaning of destiny and the historic mission.

« The battle between genuine and superficial existence, 2 ».

The Arab people, led by the believing and conscious vanguard, will persist in its liberating, historic struggle, beating the trail laid out by life for every true and genuine action. It is the way of revival from within, so that the souls are created before the means, the wills before the arms. It is the living tide that penetrates the soul of the nation, reveals its innermost points and touches its freedom as its deepest roots. When struggle steels the spirit of our nation and its tide embraces the masses of our people, then matters will appear differently than they do now. The Arabs will then know that atrocious imperialism, usurping Zionism and every external aggression and internal injustice were all nothing but opportunities for the Arab people to affirm their cultural values and renew their humanitarian message. If the experience, at this new stage of revival, has entailed additional humiliation, harshness and suffering,

it is in order that the expression of the Arab message become the bearer of additional liberty, mercy and right.

« The battle between superficial and genuine existence, 2 ».

Is there a realised Arab nation? It is realised to a small extent, but it is realised wherever there is struggle and especially when it is serious and faces death at every hour... In confronting death all deceptions and the burden of centuries of inactivity are lifted, as well as the burdens of ignorance and various selfish interests. All these hindrances which have made the nation weak and caused it to lose its humanity and its capacity to respond to life and its cultural potential. All these negative and harmful burdens that destroyed our nation will cease to exist when death is confronted.

The man who stands up to death is the real man. Man at the hour of death becomes ready to sacrifice his life, and he discovers then the unnaturalness of the consideration which fettered him: bigotry, and private interests, for death is more powerful than any artificial thing.

Our nation exists, then, wherever its men carry arms.

« The unity of struggle in the Arab Maghreb, 1 - March, 1956 ».

When the people are mobilised and the youth receives arms and becomes trained and when they disperse among the people to lift their morals and explain to them the gravity of the situation and the battle, when they caution them against hesitancy, weakening and conspiracies, I firmly believe that the battle will be under our control and we shall be able to seize the opportunity to enlarge its scope. It should be born in mind that enlarging the field of the battle is not confined to the engagement of armies, although the engagement of armies is the most important thing, and the serious manifestation of the battle.

But the battle has many fields in which the interests of imperialism could be hurt, brought under pressure,

frighten and shown that the whole Arab land will erupt, that the nation is persistant and nothing will bend its will. This will especially take place when the people, of whom you are the vanguard, enter the atmosphere of war. We do not yet have, the atmosphere of war, with all its seriousness, deprivation, its change of many customs and the usual style of life, its elevation of spirit and ardour, its urging for sacrifice and heroism in the ranks of the people, and its warning to be on the alert for every emergency. What has taken place now would be simple if compared with the hidden designs of imperialism which has remained undeterred by world public opinion, by the U.N. Imperialism is atacking in an insolent way. What will prevent it from occupying Syria and the other regions? Therefore it has become imperative to mobilise the people and be ready.

« The battle and the will of the nation, 5 - November 4, 1956 ».

There are in the Arab nation groups and individuals who realise that there is no escape from this battle, and it is much better for the battle to be open, and the Arab people to come to it willingly and quite conscious of their objectives and goals, aware of what should it choose when entering it and for what purpose. When the battle becomes so open and so clear, the Arab people will be saving itself for many latent powers will arise and grow with clear and open knowledge.

« The battle and the will of the nation, 5 - November 4, 1956 ».

What is of great concern to all of us is the struggle of Maghreb and the unity of Maghreb. On the basis of our description I say that the unity of Maghreb cannot be realised except in the unity of its struggle. Any division in the struggle of Maghreb will make impossible the political and economic unity in future. Political Unity is that which is achieved in the combat, for the

combat is the healthy life of the Arabs, like every nation which has lost its leadership in the past and become backward and needs to catch up, to rise. The healthy state which expresses the reality of the nation is struggle. Look at the Arabs without struggle and you will find them among the backward peoples. Look at them while they struggle and you will find them among the highest nations.

In struggle we build the foundations of our future life. In struggle the factors causing decadence will be removed. In the atmosphere of struggle there will be no private benefit, base rivalries and selfishness will cease to exist, because struggle builds a new standard and spirits will have either to be elevated to it or be left out.

« Our view of the Arab unity, 1 - 1956 ».

We have entered a serious battle and let me say immediately that this war is vitally necessary to the Arabs, and that any evasion from it or even putting it off was a forgery of the Arab revival and a corruption of the genuineness and virility of this revival. Renaissances and movements of revival must have their price. The price will not be too high when compared with the value of revival. You must be convinced of a certain thing that deserves to be the rule of life for every Arab youth: that life cannot be cheated. Serious life is not deceit. Correct history, and nothing survives in history which is not correct, cannot bear deceit and cheating. Nations cannot become independent, they cannot grow and their senses cannot be acute, their spirits cannot be elevated, the spring of action for building and sacrifice and good cannot be deep and overflowing unless they suffer by themselves and pay the adequate price for what life requires from them.

« The battle and the will of the nation, 5 - November 4, 1956 ».

Struggle is a mater that penetrates and extends to the life of the simplest citizen in the smallest village and

to the conditions of that life and its ways. From that life and similar lives the powers and capacities of the nation are formed. If the struggling elements are unable to influence the rule in a way that creates a source from which they can draw their liberating overthrow rallying cries and if they cannot change conditions and create the forces which would make them equal to the task of the liberation of the Arab homeland and its unification and overcoming the obstacles posed by imperialism, its allies and agents, their aloofness from the rule will better serve the purpose of awakening the people and maintaining the straight forwardness of its direction and the vitality of its struggle.

« A struggle commensurate with the goals and risks, 2 - January 25, 1957 ».

Struggle is the best educator for awareness because it is a direct and correct experience of the meaning of liberty and the meaning of right, justice and progress.

« The struggle for unity is the struggle of the masses, 2 - March, 1957 ».

The was is paved to start this attempt, but this orientation does not mean that to elevate the Arab struggle to the level theory inevitably means rigidity, a loss of flexibility and verbal attachment to previous ideas and plans. The theory, if it cannot create the future, can allow participation in its creation by what it gives to struggle through the will, planning and the preparation of adequate conditions.

It does not prevent adaptation to new and unforeseen circumstances but it secures the continuation of the political direction through flexibility and adaptation.

It is not sufficient that the intuition of the new revolutionary leaders be correct and profound an that their treatment of the present conditions be open to the future and plan for it, for the leaders may go or be changed, and

it is necessary for objective bases and rules to be within the grasp of the greater number of the people and be enriched by the experience of the struggling people over the years. They will be invoked as yardslicks to measure the extent of the progress of our struggle, the soundess of its march as well as a means for the people to supervise itself and its leaders.

« For an Arab overthrowing consciousness, 2 - August 2, 1957 ».

The Arab future has to either be faithful to the principles of popular struggle and become a new future, creative and worthy of carrying the message, or else derogate these principles and ideals, considering that they were necessary for a certain stage they have exhausted their objectives. The latter will carry the seeds of fundamental shortcomings and new relapses.

« The historic role of The Baath movement, 1 - April 7, 1960 ».

Problems of the Arab Struggle

If love is the soil on which your nationalism is grown and nourished, we will have no doubt about what nationalism means, nationalism will becomes a tolerant spirit, in other words, it opens its heart and spreads its wings to protect those who have shared with the Arabs their history and lived with tem.

« Nationalism is love before everything else, 1 - 1944 ».

From Algeria may emerge the ideal image of future Arabism, for the people of Algeria have known psychological suffering in a way not known by any other peoples. The struggle of Algeria is the yardstick of the vitality of the Arab nation and its capacity for renewal and creativeness. In this age, movements and revolutions have arisen which were a surprise to the world and aroused its admiration. But the Algerian revolution has surprised the Arabs themselves.

« Nationalism is love before everything else, 1 - 1944 ».

This is what we have understood by nationalism. The question is not to prove its existence but to realise a positive content for it.

« Nationalism is a live fact with positive and humane content, 2 - March 22, 1957 ».

In point of fact Algeria in its revolution represents the Arab nation in its best qualities, that is, in its bril-

lant and forthcoming future. This revolution was a challenge to the Arabs before being challenge to imperialism. It has put to test the aspirations of the Arabs and their faith their nationalism as well as their unity in every region. It has fixed for them the level worthy of their numerous potentials which they have not yet dared to explore in full, and release from their confinement. It has put a choice to them: either they renounce their claims and large hopes or support them and ensure their seriousness by sacrifice, action and Jjhad.

« The Algerian revolution is the Arab miracle in this age, 5 - May 17, 1957 ».

Q- In Bahrain there is a new problem, since Iran demands annexation of it. What is the reality of this?

A- Imperialism always works, wherever it is, to create conditions which would help it to continue or to bargain. This is what happened when the British encouraged the Iranians to emigrate to Bahrain until the percentage of Iranians in Bahrain has become high. Britain started to negotiate with the government of Iraq and with the government of Iran for the annexation of Bahrain to either of them. But Bahrain is an integral part of the large Arab homeland and this will determine its future whether the British agree to it or not.

« Interview with the Egyptian magazine - The Police entitled: Imperialism is bargaining republished by Al-Baath, 5 - 1957 ».

Our people in Algeria have known the deepest suffering, therefore its revolution is the most profound. It has included all the people, men and women, and has swept away in its tide classes, social disparities, and political differences. In it the nationalist cause has fused with the human values, for the Arabs of Algeria have encountered, in the defence of their nationalism, the oppression and pain which helped them reach the roots of their humanity. This has gained for them the sympathy and admiration of the peoples of the world.

Our duty toward the Algerian revolution is not that of a brother, to his brother, but in Algeria today the destiny of the modern Arab revolution in its entirety is being determined.

In our combat with imperialism Algeria represents the first defence line of our United Arab Republic, which is the hope of the Arabs in freedom and unity.

« The Algerian revolution and the revolution of unity, 2 - April 4, 1958 ».

The nation which has undergone all this will either perish under imperialist pressure or will possess such capacity for life and revival that it will shake off its burdens, overcome all this and emerge with a new revolution which benefits from all those predicaments, disasters and sufferings so that it will offer humanity a new and profound experience. It is the later alternative which has happened.

« The humanity of the struggle of the Arab nation, 5 - Baghdad - Late - July, 1958 ».

By the same token we reject the division of the people inside Lebanon into two parts, one with Arabism (Uruba) and the other against it. By nationalist and revolutionary standards both are far from Arabism, although in different degrees for if the conventional classification is applied and half the population of Lebanon is considered « Arab nationalist », i.e. revolutionary Arabs, then there would be no one opposing Arabism save a minority of reactionaries, nay, there would not be in it any progressive who is not a supporter of Arabism and a believer in it, for the problem that Lebanon has with Arabism is nothing but the problem of the progressivism of Uruba (Arabism).

According to this, Lebanon has a fundamental role to play in rectifying, deepening and integrating the Arab revolutionary movement, even if those there who oppose Arabism do not mean to rectify hostile and negative attitude, for modern arabism may be expected to be

capable of standing up to this challenge and responding to it by making its progressiveness more explicit and deepening its belief in liberty and humanity.

« Lebanon and Uruba (Arabism), 1 - 1960 ».

The Kurdish national movement cannot contradict the Arab revolution and when it does, imperialism must be behind the contradiction, whether by creating agent leaderships for this movement or by involving reactionary or secessionist Arab governments in order to provoke this movement in ways which aggravate it.

« The Kurdish question and the Arab revolution, 3 - June 10, 1969 ».

The road of the Arab revolution is the natural and essential one for every liberation and progressive revolution in all the Third World. The Kurdish national movement is a legitimate and genuine part of the Arab revolution against imperialism, Zionism, class exploitation, backwardness and fragmentation. Everything that deviates the Kurdish national movement towards meeting and colluding with imperialism and Zionism and puts it in the ranks of the feudal class and secession should be laid bare and unmasked as a conspiracy against both the Arab revolution and the Kurdish national movement. The response to the demands of the Kurdish national movement should be within the framework of this harmony between its movement and the march of Arab revolution.

« The Kurdish question and the Arab revolution, 3 - June 10, 1969 ».

We were one people in the past. If the Kurdish people has any grievances, they are in countries other than the Arab lands, as there was no segregation or discrimination between them and the Arabs. They were treated in the Arab homeland the way Arabs treat Arabs. There is another fact which is ignored only by those who lack

a historical view and this fact is that the Arab revolution is the revolution of this age. It is the measure of every revolution and every progressive movement in every country in the world. He who stands against it cannot be progressive or revolutionary. He who opposes it must be falling prey to imperialism, reaction and Zionism. How could a national movement of a small people be in opposition to the march of the Arab revolution? How could it maintain the minimum degree of safety, remain intact with no foreign and imperialist intervention and manipulation if it does not recognise the obvious fact that it cannot be in opposition with the mother revolution, the Arab revolution?

«The Baath experience in Iraq is the starting point for the Arab revolution. A speech to the advanced cadres of the Arab Baath Socialist party in Baghdad - June 24, 1974 ».

On Imperialism and Zionism

It is inevitable for the Arab governments to befriend the imperialist countries without love for them. This is because those governments are faced with two choices: either combat the imperialist countries in a serious way and be forced to mobilise all the potential of the people and lift from their way all that hampers their activity and progress. By doing this, such governments will have no room to exploit and oppress the people. The other choice is to continue exploiting the people and lose their support in resisting the imperialist countries.

By so doing, they will lose most of the people's powers for struggle as these are stifled by poverty and ignorance and killed by injustice and oppression. In this case, suche governments will have, to appease those countries and come to agreement with them about division of influence and benefits.

« The reversed policy kept for the people its cunning and devoted its loyalty to its foes. Al-Baath, 4 - July 21, 1946 ».

The zionist menace is not, therefore, merely an economic invasion motivated by material greed, but it is first and foremost a religious invesion which has no parallel in history except the crusades! Nothing but the awakening of faith in the Arabs, and the incarnation of that faith in a practical and efficacious form can ward off this menace. Therefore, the reliance on politics with its calculations and prevarications is the strongest opium of the spirit of struggle in the people and the thickest screen

to conceal from the Arabs the danger which threatens them.

« The Arabs should not wait for a miracle. Palestine cannot be saved by governments but by popular action, 1 - Al-Baath - August 6, 1946 ».

The interest of the Arab homeland can never be to side with the Western bloc or with of its members. Therefore the policy of the Arab governments should be one of neutrality in the conflict between the two world blocs, instead of binding thenselves to the enemies of the Arabs by new treaties. It is imperative that we should relieve ourselves of any bound with them.

« Our foreign policy Al-Baath, 4 - January 12, 1948 ».

It is high time we exposed the cheating and deceit in this logic. Without a serious view of the conditions of the people there will be no serious resistance to the Zionist menace. Without raising the economic standard and without applying the feasible unification of some Arab regions, to engage in an actual battle with Zionism will have no real signifance.

« The Arab unity and socialism, 1 - February, 1956 ».

As to imperialism, it relies on two forces: the one positive, derived from its scientific and technological activity and we cannot confront this force except through adopting it and seizing this decisive battle as an opportunity to leap to the level of modern science and organisation. We shall then be delivered once and for all from the vestiges of reactionary mentality and the absence of planning. The negative force of imperialism is derived from the shortcoming and loopholes which still exist in our society and its conditions. There loopholes give imperialism collaborators among our people who are enslaved by their private interests and blinded by ignorance and prejudice. It is within our power today to wrest this

weapon from imperialism in order to purify our internal front, isolate the conspiring elements and speedily and decisively tackle the causes of plotting and deviation.

« Our battle with imperialism is inevitable. Al-Baath, 5 - August 24, 1956 ».

Imperialism today imposes on us a new and cruel battle for which it is preparing every means of aggression it possessed before the Suez crisis, since the time it became certain of the fermentation of the revolutionary Arab consciousness and of the fact that popular capacities in some Arab regions have reached the level of effective organisation. This means that the battle is that of the Arabs before it is that of imperialism. The legitimate and natural surge of the Arabs toward liberation and progress forms by itself a grave danger to the interests of imperialism and its existence not only in the Arab homeland but also in the world.

« Our battle with imperialism is inevitable. Al-Baath, 5 - August 24, 1956 ».

The question, therefore, is always our inner structure, our national structure. It is always the establishment of our society and its building, for imperialism has from the outset penetrated every loophole and weak point in the inner structure, through backwardness and social deseases.

« The human nationalism, 2 - December 28, 1956 ».

The peoples of the imperialist countries are day by day, becoming, less enthusiastic, about these imperialistic wars. They increasingly withdraw from them so that the battle will finally be confined, without disquise, to those who are really interested in it. These capitalists, the adventurers and mercenaires who profit by wars, when they have reached this stage, will come to their end, for imperialistic wars do not depend solely on the imperialists

but on the capacity of the latter to deceive their peoples drive them into such wars.

« The role of the Algerian battle in our struggle, 5 - 1956 ».

The Baghdad Pact could be described as an imperialist attack an defence to which Britain has resorted to stop the growth of Arab awakening and forestall its consequences. It has worked out this pact with the design and the objectives of confronting, disfiguring, deviating or paralyzing every facet of the new Arab movement.

« The outcome of a stage of struggle, 5 - December, 1956 ».

The Arabs have to put an end to subterefuges, to shirking of responsibility and to putting the blame on imperialism. They should look into their problems deeply and from within and consider themselves solely responsible for their destiny.

« The battle between superficial and genuine existence, 2 ».

This is the decisive point that separates us from the governments in the Arab homeland. It is at the same time the point of departure from the present, characterized by paralysis to a future full of potential... the governments consider submission to the demands of imperialism easier and more feasible than meeting that uncontrollable urge which the Arab people has for liberation. They invariably choose the easy way, and by doing so they are forced to be transformed into tools used by imperialism to hamper the emancipation of the people and delay its renaissance. The governments have chosen this course and imposed it on the people. The Arab people are not to be blamed if they consider—as a result of this policy itself—that the most effective struggle they could wage against imperialism is their struggle against the ruling class which is servile to it.

« The battle between superficial and genuine existence, 2 ».

The interests of the peoples do not come into conflict. The interest of the Arab people in Algeria and Maghreb goes hand in hand with the interest of the French people in the liberation from its oppressive conditions. In this there is a guarantee for the struggle of the Arabs in Maghreb, for if France persists in its imperialist policy and inflicts suffering on the Arabs of Algeria, the suffering of the French people will become much more acute and may lead them to revolt.

« The role of the Algerian battle in our struggle, 2 - 1956 ».

The free peoples have come to recognise our cause and support it only after they felt that it was not confined to the desires of Kings and the interests of the privileged class. They have come to know that behind it there is one struggling people that is frightening world imperialism and is shaking its foundations, for it is no longer afraid to confront its problems with perfect candidness and face its internal enemies with the same courage and determination it faces imperialism itself.

« The consensus of the people is the strongest, 2 - November 16, 1956 ».

We have not been wrong when we always considered imperialism as the first enemy and Israel as the consequence of mperialism, its ally and offshoot. Its fate is linked up with its fate. But there is no need to remind you that this should not be taken literally so that you think that Israel follows the orders of imperialism in every single matter. It is the ally of imperialism but it is not its tool in the ordinary meaning of the word. It has its own structure and designs as well as interests. It has its own power, intelligence and Policy. It depends on the strength and influence of world Zionism. Therefore it sometimes entangles imperialist countries while at other times it is imperialism which instigates Israel.

« The Arab struggle facing imperialism and Israel, 2 - October 1, 1956 ».

The proof that Imperialism is artificial and that it is ephemeral and cannot continue or have solid foundations is that the action—the same, such as striking the nation which it wants to colonise exploit and stifle—this action itself will have contradictory consequences. The imperialist countries established Israel in order to prevent the revival of the Arabs and hamper their unity. But the same act has been greatly instrumental in awakening our nationalist consciousness and elevating our awareness and the standard of our struggle so that we will eventually conquer both Israel and imperialism.

« The Arab struggle facing imperialism and Israel, 2 - October 1, 1956 ».

This nationalist advance, characterised by the fight against imperialism and the will to be liberated from it, is still insufficient and inadequate. It should be enriched and fertilised by the social revolution and the ideological revolution.

« A new level for our struggle, 2 - October 12, 1957 ».

Imperialism knew that the Arab nation was living in a state of fermentation and preparation for the revival of its nationality, and it felt endangered. This knowledge was one of the most important factors in urging the establishment of the national Jewish homeland in Palestine, which later came to be called Israel.

« The Arab struggle facing imperialism and Israel, 1 - October 1, 1956 ».

Our duty is to reply to imperialism with war and revolution at the same time. War is mobilisation and organisation of existing forces, and our available forces are not yet at the level of imperialist forces. Therefore, we have to support our war by revolution in order to release the latent potential of our people and to

continually nourish war with this inexhaustible fountainhead which is the struggle of eighty million Arabs living on a soil full of riches and who have military and strategic qualities which are hardly possessed by any other country.

« Our battle with imperialism is inevitable, 4 - August 24, 1956 ».

It is important for us to win the battle in our struggle against imperialism without losing any part of our nationalist and humane orientation. We are concerned with winning the battle against imperialism by virtue of our observance and preservation of this orientation.

« Our future as seen through the present crisis, 2 - September 7, 1956 ».

If we believe that our engagement in the battle will not expose our revival to the danger of relapse, and since our potential and those of the free peoples are mounting and the capacities of imperialism are slipping and on the way to vanishing with every hour, it is imperative for us to reject any hesitation to enter the battle, the retreat alone realises the designs of imperialism, we foresake our cause and kill the dawning future for our newer generations.

« No going back and no retreat, 2 - September 14, 1956 ».

Every step taken ty the people in its rough journey on the way to liberation from the fetters of imperialism and overcoming its backward conditions must be accompanied by a consonant rise in nationalist objectives. The standard of patriotism and loyalty during the time of the mandate and foreign occupation, some twenty years ago, when to reach a treaty with France was considered the pinnacle of national demands, cannot be the same standard of patriotism and loyalty now that our concern is to consolidate independance from within by strengthening our army, industrialising our country,

exploiting the riches of our soil and unifying the parts of our homeland on sound bases that secure for us the defence of our existence and nationality in face of the menace of Israel and the imperialist powers that support it.

« The rejoice of imperialist powers, 4 - July 13, 1956 ».

The revolution of the oppressed peoples is an indirect prelude to the revolution of the peoples of imperialist countries to better their own conditions. The wresting of illicit riches, on which the imperialist countries have been depend... their loss will cause a reversal in the order of those countries and they will be forced to rearrange their affairs, redistribute their wealth and create a new economic system enabling them to live without relying on their colonies. We are not, therefore, surprised to see this insolence on the part of imperialist countries when they deal with us.

« The Arab struggle facing imperialism and Israel, 5 - October 1, 1956 ».

In Palestine the imperialists and Zionists collaborated to evict our people from its land. They said and they are still saying that Israel has come to stay. But the Arab people retorts, in Palestine Egypt, Syria and in every other Arab country, and the disaster is ten years old, that Israel has come to go away and with it imperialism will go too.

« Algeria and Palestine the two wings of the Arab revolution and the guarantee for its continuity, 2 - June 7, 1957 ».

The danger to the Arab nation is the existence of Israel as a state and not the existence of a Jewish minority in the Arab homeland. The acceleration of the liberating and unitary struggle and the achievement of quick and

earnest steps in those two fields will put an end to the designs of imperialism to use Israel and the designs of world Zionism to use imperialism for the protection of Israel and enhance its expansionism. Expediting the Arab Socialist Struggle will remove the fears of the Jewish minority of the impossibility of living peacefully and justly with the Arabs. It will also obliterate or weaken the weapon of world Zionism of appealing to the sympathy of the free peoples and popular classes for Israel as a haven for an oppressed and advanced people. Lastly the perseverence of the Arabs in their humane direction in the international field as well as their co-operation with other peoples for the solidification of peace and socialist progress for all the peoples together with the policy of positive neutrality, all these will be instrumental in removing the causes of racial and religious fanaticism and help assimilate Jewish minorities in the European countries and will consequently weaken the justifications for the existence of Israel.

« The combat of the Arabs with imperialism and Zionism, 1 - July 27, 1957 ».

There are in fact two views of imperialism and Zionism, and each of them is inadequate and deviationist: it is known that the rightist front concentrates on Israel to divert the attention from imperialism. On the other hand there is a liberation view which is not quite accurate when it makes Israel and imperialism two names for one entity. This partially conceals the danger of world Zionism which is undoubtedly an imperialist movement but an idependent one. On our part, we consider Israel an imperialist base, beyond a doubt, for it is imperialism which has created defendal and fed it for this purpose. But this does not cover the whole question. The problem is much bigger than that.

Israel is also an expression of the power of world Zionism, but world Zionism is capable of making use of imperialism itself. The success of the Arabs in shattering imperialism will solve the largest part of the problem, but

will not solve it in is entirety. To put it more correctly the success in conquering imperialism has a pre-requisite and this is that the forces of world Zionism be taken into account. Therefore another struggle has to accompany our struggle against imperialism and this is our struggle against Zionism. World Zionism with its strong influence has been able to make use not only of the imperialist powers, but also of the popular (downtrodden) classes themselves in many countries, exploiting the special historical situation of the Jews in Europe who in some periods were subject to religious and racial persecution, and exploiting at the same time the high level of the state of Israel in respect to technological efficiency and consequently the backwardness of the Arab Society and its reactionary character. By this Zionism wants to give the image that Israel is the vanguard of progress in this part of the world and a new experiment of Western civilisation in this part of the East.

« The combat of the Arabs with imperialism and Zionism, 1 - July 27, 1957 ».

The error and danger lie in considering the nationalist doctrine independent from the political fate of our nation. The doctrine exists in the life of the nation and its concern for its survival, independence and liberation. The reverse of this is not true. For this reason the gravest danger on our belief and nationality lies in ignoring the threats and imperialist conspiracies which endanger the existence of our nation when its liberating orientation is nullified by the pretext of the so-called communist doctrine. The inevitable consequence of this will be the surrendering of our nation and our regions. They will become an easy prey, despotic imperialist powers who plunder our riches, corrupt our morals and sow the seeds of discord and strife among the regions, as well as assist Israel to expand at the expense of the Arabs.

« Arab nationalism and liberation policy, 5 - Republished in Al-Baath - May 11, 1957 ».

When imperialism came up with the theory of the vacuum, by saying that there is a vacuum in our homeland that needs to be filled by imperialism and occupation, it came to my mind that the vacuum really does exist but not in our people or in our country. It is that part of the world which has defaced and falsified values and reached in hypocrisy to the point of contradiction with the principles it claims to uphold. I have always thought that there is in the world a frightening vacuum and it is not improbable that our nation will be among the nations which will be required to fill it within a time sooner than we think. The civilisation of the imperialists portends collapse and failure so long as it continues to perpetrate crimes against weak peoples in this way and falsifies facts scarcely knowing that it does so. In other words forgery has become so fused with the minds and souls of that civilisation that it has become natural, constituting its very concepts.

« The ambition of Al-Baath, 1 - March, 1957 ».

Imperialism has reinforced its aggression by giving its leadership to America for she possesses a force of international magnitude and extraordinary means of pressure and corruption. This enables it, besides threatening us from without by its aggression and that of the countries under its influence, to plot from within against our independance and liberty, against the integrity of our national structure with the weapons of bribery and corruption as well as the instigation of discord, disunity and civil war. All this requires from us a new view of the world and a new preparedness commesurate with the danger we are facing.

« Let us unify the leadership of the Arab struggle, 2 - May 17, 1957 ».

There is no other people that has been able, by the force of its belief in its right and its steadfastness in struggle, to unveil at one time the myth of world Zionism and the falsehood of its humane and peaceful in-

tentions on the one hand, and on the other, the degeneracy of big states and important progressive parties and groups which Zionism was capable of buying off by money or of controlling by propaganda media in order to support its aggression against the rights of the Arabs which is as clear as daylight. Lastly, our people alone has forced the countries of the civilised West headed by the U.S.A. to lift the masks of their materialistic civilisation plagued greed and the covetousness of imperialism who proclaimed their support of everything that is putrid, corrupt and backward in our Arab society. Their intention is to fight the premonitions of the progressive and clean Arab revival as represented by the revolution of Egypt and the popular movement in Syria.

« The genuineness of the Arab direction makes the violence of the battle inevitable, 2 - May 22, 1957 ».

The steadfastness of the Arab nation in this battle will not secure survival and protection for it alone but will also expose a profound falsehood in the life of Western countries and will restore precious values to mankind.

« The battle within and the battle without are two facets of one battle, 5 - May 31, 1957 ».

But this ordinary development, largely the result of the influence of circumstances and contact with the outside world, entered into the calculations of imperialism, which followed it step by step. It was imperialism which allowed it to come in trickels while it prepared for it everything that would ensure its impediment and ward off the dangers posed by it.

« The Algerian revolution and the revolution of unity, 2 - April 4, 1958 ».

Events are half the question, the other half is their impact on the people. The history of the people, its heritage, victories and relapses in the past and present as well

as its capacity for continuity and revival in the future are the outcome, and this is the reply to the events.

Those who have engineered the plot for the usurpation of Palestine since the start of this century and conspired with imperialist interests in order to keep the Arab homeland in a state of fragmentation and backardness, and to facilitate for the imperialist powers the exploitation of its riches and the use of its position did not take into consideration that this imperialist project would be transformed, as we have mentioned, into a generator instigating the Arab renaissance. Here the factor of the historical and geographical formation of the nation enters. It has been from the ancient times living on a land which is a crossroad between the continents. Then a religious call of world dimensions emerged in it. Its history developed toward this world and human goal.

When these things are taken into consideration, it becomes easy to understand why the Arab response to foreign challenges and world conspiracies takes a magnitude and significance equal to the magnitude of the world and the significance of mankind.

« The regimes and the masses-contrasting components of the Arab nation - Athair Al-Arabi - (The Arab revolutionary) - April 15, 1974 ».

Palestine

The present conditions do not allow us to wait for the question to be resolved from its roots and as these conditions should make room for strife and discord, there remains before the Arabs the urgent task for rescuing Palestine: they must leave governments behind and bid farewell to their last hopes in the efficiency of the official policy and turn to popular action, devoting to it all their efforts.

« The Arabs should not wait for a miracle. Palestine cannot be saved by the governments but by popular action, 1 - Al-Baath - August 6, 1946 ».

When our eyes and hearts turn to struggling and menaced Palestine at this moment, when we are determined to die to maintain our immortal rights there and repulse the aggressors, we should not forget that the cause of justice is one and that the liberty of the Arabs is indivisible. The people are determined with equal force to solidify its right in liberty and a dignified life, and prove to the countries slighting our rights and doubting our moral values and ideals that we are capable of repelling aggression wherever it comes from. The defence of the constitution of Syria and to rescue it from the menace of dictatorship will not be less worthy or of lesser advantage and nobility, in the esteem of the higher Arab interest, than the defence of the Arabic character of Palestine.

« The tragedy of Palestine and the amendment of the Syrian constitution, 4 - Al-Baath - November 16, 1947 ».

All this is on top of the tangible things in which everything has become obvious, misery, backwardness, degeneracy and hunger among the majority of the classes of the people. The incapacity to win a victory in Palestine has also become apparent.

« Defence before the court of appeal, 4 - October 30, 1948 ».

It is our unshakable belief that if the battle takes place sooner or later it will not be to liberate Palestine alone but the whole Arab homeland. The people, when entering the field of struggle, will not be satisfied with conquering one enemy only.

« The Arab unity and socialism, 5 - February, 1956 ».

The most important of these national quakes is undoubtedly the battle of Palestine, and the conspiracy and collusion of the imperialist states against the Arab cause when they decided to establish a state for Zionism in Palestine.

This event, as the conscious combatants of our nation have felt since the time of its occurence—that is, eight years ago, and as the people and the overwhelming majority have started to feel gradually—this event is a historic one which has been and still is greatly instrumental in moving the Arabic structure and in unmasking the falsehood of the conditions in which the Arabs have been living. It made a fundamental and profound change in the souls and mentality of the Arabs, so much so that it moved them decades ahead. In short, the calamity of Palestine has ushered the Arabs in the modern age.

« The relation between the governments and the Arab people, 4 - April 12, 1956 ».

In Lebanon there are also seeds of suffering and revolution, even though they are of a different kind. There and among some of its groups have accumulated feelings of passivity and suspicions about the genuineness of

the Arab nation and in its capacity for revival. In it have assembled the residues of defeatism in the Arab soul and the desperate attempt of a people that wants to get rid of its weakness by denying its identity and renouncing its nationality. But Lebanon has moved at last and for the first time we see a positive motion which suffers from no desease and shuns no responsibility. The credit for this goes to the revolutionary orientation embodied in the Arab policy of liberation which derives its strength from the sufferings of Uruba (Arabism) in Algeria and Palestine.

« Algeria and Palestine are the two wings of the Arab revolution and the guarantee for its continuity, 2 - June 7, 1957 ».

The nature of the historical stage through which the Arabs are passing becomes clear in its landmarks and its direction becomes defined by two grave phenomena in the modern life of the Arabs: the battle of Algeria and the disaster of Palestine. The Arab struggle, with its decisive and revolutionary standard, and the Arab future with its universally humane principles, have had their first lines written and their forthcoming image been drawn up in these two wounds in the heart of the Arab nation, Algeria and Palestine, where the Arabs have experienced the deepest human sorrow. The nation fated to undergo such a trial cannot but give the deepest good and creativeness in its possession. As long as the nation is one and so long as we are concerned about its unity and persist in clarifying the oneness of its cause, it is inevitable that the other parts should interact and be uplifted to the level of the parts of greater suffering and revolutionism.

« Algeria and Palestine are the two wings of the Arab revolution and the guarantee for its continuity, 2 - June 7, 1957 ».

The question of Palestine is not different from the nationalist question in general although it is the most important part of the latter. At this stage almost the

whole question is summarised in Palestine. I mean to say that the solutions in our view do not differ. There is no specific solution to the Palestinian question. There is the solution in which we believe for all the problems of the Arab homeland: the revolutionary solution.

« The question of Palestine and the revolutionary solution, 3 - May 25, 1969 ».

For a long time the imperialist states and the reactionary regimes have been trying to isolate the question of Palestine from the cause of the other Arab regions. How many times was it said to Algeria and the Arab Maghrab in general: what have you to do with the Arabs? Take care of your own affairs and you will get help from us. How many times was Egypt told: What have you to do with the Arabs and the Arab lands? Take care of your own affairs and you will find help, aid as well as prosperity for your people. The palestinians are told today to be realistic. This realism is false and deceptive. They are told to be interested in their own affairs and the affairs of their country and that perhaps they can save it or save a part of it.

« Palestine is the Summing up of the Arab cause, 3 - May 30, 1969 ».

What is taking place today is that Egypt wants the restoration of its land and so does Syria. The Resistance should not take refuge in the capitulation of the regimes and their acceptance of settlement. It will then be similar to the leaderships of regimes who agree to the settlement. The Palestinian state in as much as it is an expression of the settlement, is an expression of the reduction of Palestine or the Palestinian question from its historic size, the size of the destiny of the Arab nation, to a geographical size, regional, slight and disfigured!!

« The regimes and the masses are two opposing facets of the Arab nation. Atha'ir Al-Arabi (The Arab revolutionary) - April 15, 1974 ».

When the question of Palestine is considered the origin and the foundation and the principal Arab question, then will be no difference between the land of Palestine and the land of any other Arab region, except as far as concerns the danger of solidifying the Zionist settlement and enhancing the false historical Zionist claim to its in Palestine.

But when the price of the restoration of these lands to Egypt and Syria is the sale of Palestine to Zionism, when the return of these lands becomes a beginning of Egypt and Syria giving up the fight for liberation and for the unity of destiny, this restoration, instead of being a gain increasing the preparedness for the forthcoming engagement with the enemy, will show the renouncement of the Arab cause. Falsehood and deceit will then be unmasked. The question of Palestine will be the last one and of the least importance and not the cause of the Arabs but that of a segment of the Palestinian people!!

« The regimes and the masses are two opposite facets of the Arab nation. Atha'ir Al-Arabi (The Arab revolutionary) - April 15, 1974 ».

Palestine and its people have always been victimized and they are paying the price. This must not continue, for this portion with which they are trying to appease the Palestininans does not represent more than one fifth of the land of Palestine. It will not be free. On top of all that is that a writ that will be obtained from the Palestinians renouncing their right in their land.

« The regimes and the masses are two opposite facets of the Arab nation. Atha'ir Al-Arabi (The Arab revolutionary) - April 15, 1974 ».

Egypt

The conclution which I want you to reach is that the conditions for the coup d'etat in Egypt are different from those in Syria. The coup d'etat that took place in Egypt had reasonable justifications. The Arab arena being vacant, the people turned to the military which executed the coup d'etat. The military has faithfully and earnestly performed some undeniable reforms. But could it be said that the existing regime in Egypt is that of overthrow?

The answer is no. This rule could be called progressive and no more. The difference between an overthrow and a coup d'etat is the following:

The overthrow is the organised struggle of the people based on theory and doctrice. It aims at reversing the public conditions entirely and from the roots, and replacing them with new and healthy conditions. The overthrow is a change in the foundations of the life of the nation.

It is axiomatic that change cannot take place with the army but through the struggle of the people itself. The army may participate with the people but all alone it is incapable of achieving the overthrow in the meaning understood by our party.

As for progressivism, it is reform and not a change in the foundations. It is a reformation of some aspects of the public life with the preservation of the old foundations, not because of a concern for these but because of incapacity to alter them.

« On the situation in Egypt, 5 - January 21, 1956 ».

We could describe progressivism, brethren, as middle way between the reaction now prevailing in parts of

the Arab homeland and the real overthrow wich is at the stage of growth and development. As the road to overthrow is long, there are always possibilities for the emergence of progressive endeavours. These endeavours are of two kinds: true and false. The true is what has taken place in Egypt. The false is that which has taken place in Syria.

« On the situation in Egypt, 5 - January 21, 1956 ».

With the exception of the deep historic impact which the battle of Palestine made on it and on other regions of the Arab homeland, the new Arab orientation in Egypt did not come to it from others as much as it sprang from within and from the core of the Arab people, as soon as the two obstacles to it collapsed: the obstacle of imperialism and that of oppression and reaction. It then was in possession of the heathly conditions to regain its spontaneity and come to rediscover its genuine Arabic personality.

« The revolutionary nature of the Arab cause, 2 - April 25, 1956 ».

The tragedy of Palestine, although not expected in exactly the way it happened nor at the time in which it took place, was a tangible proof of the doctrine of unity, liberty and socialism and the existence of a fertile soil for its diffusion and realisation. The greatest consequence of that tragedy was thet Egypt broke through the walls of isolationism and regional deviation in a historic leap which has linked its destiny to that of the Arab nation in a conscious and creative way.

« The features of Arab unity in the federation of Egypt and Syria, 2 - June 1, 1956 ».

Egypt, whether in her resistance to imperialist pacts in the name of the interest of the Arabs as a whole, her adoption of positive neutrality also in the name of the interest of all the Arabs, and in her steadfast and

persistent attitude towards the Zionist menace and the offered bargains and settlements to her... has stood firm, knowing the danger Israel presents to the entire Arab existence. She stood equally firm during the Suez Canal crisis and by so doing she paved the way for all the Arab regions to challenge imperialism and rid themselves from its fetters, its companies, its exploitation, etc.

Those stands were not taken by Egypt as Egypt, not as part of the Arab homeland, but as a delegate of the Arab nation, being the biggest Arab region with tremendous potential and having the conditions for education, production and awareness. With all these, she has become capable of restoring her control over her destiny and has cleansed her society. Consequently she has become competent to speak in the name of all the Arabs.

« The Arab struggle facing imperialism and Israel, 5 - October, 1956 ».

When such a historic action is accomplished in the history of a nation... when the Arab idea interacts with a region which is the biggest Arab region but was hopeless some five years ago, when this coup d'etat and this tremendous power that were passive, are transformed into a positive power at the service of the Arab nations, what response should this region get from us?

All individuals of the Arab nation are responsible today for their future ... for the future of the Arab nation... and its history. Will the doctrine of interaction with Egypt, the biggest and greatest region, take roots? Can we live up to the expectations of that regions in us? Can we prove that Arabism (Uruba) is a reality, a fact and action, work and Jihad? Otherwise, we will relapse and go downwards, in which case the Egyptian coup d'etat will remain hanging in mid-air, exposed to a variety of retrogressions and become shallow. It will then be stricken by apostasy and relapse. If we take this battle imposed on us by imperialism but which, in some aspects, we have imposed on imperialism, if we look

at it in this perspective, should we not find it imperative to increase our cohesion, whether with Egypt or Algeria or any other region?

« The Arab struggle facing imperialism and Israel, 5 - October, 1956 ».

I look at the battle with this perspective: we are required, first and foremost, to save the future. Saving the future is giving the present its due consideration. We have to perform our task—in the present—without taking profit and loss into account. This is especially the responsibility of Syria, although I do not differentiate between one region and another, as I consider all these division ephemeral, but up to now Syria has been considered by the other regions, particularly Egypt, as the cradle of the Arab idea and which in spite of her small size and the limitations of her potentialities... has struggled more than others. This idea, this call, has found here a fertile soil from which it has spread to other regions. I felt this myself especially in Egypt where, as I told you, Syria has a revered place. Its name works like magic in their hearts. They say and admit that they had been educated by Syria the correct nationalist ideology and the nationalist and progressive orientation.

« The Arab struggle facing imperialism and Israel, 5 - October, 1956 ».

Egypt is withstanding an attack of the standard of modern wars, with all its cruelty and gravity. A few years ago Egypt was shaken or appeared to be shaken—because of the corrupt conditions prevailing there—by the struggle taking the form of demonstrations, with their partial and negligible sacrifices. Egypt herself, a few years later, is bearing what big countries bore in the last war and in the great wars. Egypt is fighting the battle with faith, determination and bravery.

« The battle and the will of the nation, 5 - November 4, 1956 ».

The Egyptian leadership knows that every Baathist is at their disposal. It has no greater trust in any group than in this party. It remains to you to take the spirit of initiative and organise yourselves. When you are incapable of providing certain things, the leadership is to do its duty in this respect:—Arms, for example, are to be supplied by the government.

Make lists of your requirements and the government will give us the Arms... if some persons remain unarmed, they are to do other work or may look for arms from sources other than the government.

If it is not possible for us to go to Egypt, the battle is not only there. There is a scope for action and struggle in Palestine, for example, within the army, and with the Fedayeens and guerrillas.

« The battle and the will of the nation, 5 - November 4, 1956 ».

The question today is not whether we will win or lose, confronted by an undeniably powerful enemy, though we believe that the potential of the Arab nation is capable of securing victory for us in the battle. But the question is that we should be loyal to our ideals and the unity of our destiny. No Arab ignores that this battle waged and led by Egypt is in the first place that of Arab unity. Arab unity for the Arabs is not merely the deployment of forces and the fortification of power and strength—as with some other people—but it is a crystalline unity through which can be seen all the sufferings and negative experiences the Arabs have undergone all longing for right and liberty and their thirst for construction and co-operation.

« The battle of one destiny, 2 - November 25, 1956 ».

We now see the rust being removed and the truth emerge shining, when Egypt has taken her natural course to Arabism (Uruba) after being misguided for long. She has lifted the greatest weight from the Arab struggle

movement. While many people and old politicians considered this a miracle beyond explanation, we believed that it would inevitably and surely come and that the reality of the Arab Egypt would one day emerge.

« The ambition of the Baath, 1 - March, 1957 ».

Thus we see that unity leads to revolution as revolution leads to unity. The historic revolution of Egypt did not have a precondition that she would know from the outset that her fate would be the realisation of Arab unity. But the essential precondition was secure for it and that it was a true and genuine revolution, and her loyalty to herself and to her genuineness has led her to her real destiny, through precise logic and infallible inspiration.

« The revolution of Algeria and the revolution of Unity, 2 - April 4, 1958 ».

We consider Egypt of grave importance and weight as well as having tremendous potential for every Arab struggle, especially the struggle of unity. In spite of our categorical rejection of any propaganda claiming to make Egypt and her people alien to Arabism (Uruba) we consider that the conscious groups must make a profound and open criticism of all the factors and residues which help create this general weakness in the Arab consciousness in Egypt. These groups must also urge the Arab people in Egypt to make use of the potential of Egypt for the participation in the building of the Arab nation in a healthy way instead of using this for regional purpose.

« The relapse into secession, 2 - February, 1962 ».

The lessons of June and the significance of October

The nationalist and popular front on the scale of the Arab homeland and the armed popular action form the essential pillars for every strategy capable of responding to the most recent Zionist and imperialist aggression. Unity and democracy are the two slogans of the present stage. The relapse cannot be transformed into victory unless we make it a starting point for unity.

« June 5 and the chance for popular action, 3 - November, 1967 ».

Armament is no longer confined to armies, although the Arab armies are popular armies, the sons of the toiling class. They are brave armies with a faith. But the greatest dangers can be warded of when the whole Arab people become a recruited army, and when there is cooperation, mutual assistance and interaction between the regular trained armies and the armed popular struggle. The latter should also be given training and technology, for in this age it is no longer acceptable to neglect the rules of the game of war and fighting and ignore the discoveries of science. The popular movement, with its deep drive and powerful surge, is capable of acquiring technical expertise through the fight and in periods shorter than the periods in training schools and military academies. In this way we can release all the latent powers of our people so that we can be equal to the grave danger threatening us.

« Palestine is the essence of the Arab cause, 3 - May 30, 1969 ».

In order to justify this capitulationism it was said that the objective of the aggression was to topple the Arab regimes and not expansion. It appeared, three years later, that the target of Israel and imperialism was expansion and the protection of the system, for only these regimes which could secure for Israel the realisation of its aims which are first peace, second expansion, and the perpetuation of fragmentation once and for all.

The surrender to the plot of the peaceful settlement is the end of one stage of the Arab revolution, when it stumbled and moved hesitantly. It is a condemnation of a complete period of time and of the mentality and outlook prevailing in it. It is not a condemnation of persons or rules or of particular regimes except in so far as they are the expression of that mentality and that outlook. The required analysis for that stage should not, therefore, aim at recording the errors of a certain part or party of realising political and party benefits for another part or party. Such analysis should aim at clarifying the position in a way that will save the future.

« The plot of peaceful settlement is consecration of defeat, 3 - July, 1970 ».

Development and construction projects, however successful, if they are not made within the framework of planning and preparation to confront imperialist and Zionist dangers threatening the Arab existence, if such projects are not used as means to face and overcome these dangers, that is, for building up the unified Arab popular struggle in a way that insures its continuity and growth, development and construction will be transformed into a diversion and deceit, for Israel and imperialism behind it can demolish in a few days the construction which took the efforts of twenty years.

« The plot of peaceful settlement is consecration of defeat, 3 - July, 1970 ».

This war was meant to be fabricated and limited and not to exceed in aims the application of the Security

Conuncil's resolution No. 242 which represented the state of the Arabs when they suffered the June defeat, or the stage of the weakness of the Arabs as opposed to the superiority of Israel. But the war become something other than designed. It released tremendous and creative forces and potential. In spite of this the regimes were content with the demand of applying the Security Council's old resolution or something equivalent to it, for the regimes were participants in that defeat and incapable of surmounting its level. As the October war has proved, the continued existence of these regimes deprives the Arab people of the fruits of a historic victory.

« The regimes and the masses... Two opposing facets of the Arab nation, 1 - Ath th'ir Al-Arabi (The Arab Revolutionary) - April 15, 1974 ».

The new facts which have emerged are not transitory or accidental nor are they superficial. They are the consequence of a profound interaction between the souls of the Arab people throughout the homeland. They are the response to the fabricated defeat, the defeat which the Arab people sustained in the June war. This interaction, this awakening of the Arab personality, was not a simple awakening. It has called up all the history to its support, from the rise of the faith, the days when Islam emerged, the religion of the Arabs, the days of Arab conquests and the rise of Arab culture. All this interaction fermented in the Arab soul during the few years between June 1967 and October 1973. Then appeared the new force which others conspired against, trying, to stifle it in the cradle. But it is not a thing that can be stifled, for it is a historical phenomenon... It is the regaining of the nation's existence, of its awareness of its existence, of its awareness of the significance of its existence, of its mission in life.

« Iraq and the Baath - Speech with the members of the Baghdad Branch of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, 7 - June 21, 1974 ».

Steadfastness and optimism are required now. I would also say that the last war has shown a new level that

could be described as mature or an advance toward maturity. The revolution does not bargain or become easy-going, but after it has felt this new force which is not imaginary, its behaviour should be free from bigotry and reaction. It should be confident of the future and of the Arab victory as well as the Arab consciousness, for this consciousness is continually progressing and maturing. The conduct of the revolution in the future should express this self-confidence.

« Palestine is the cause of the Arab revolution. (The speech of the leader to the political committee of the Palestinian Revolution in Iraq), 7 - June 22, 1974 ».

Just a few days, the days of the October war, were sufficient to let the Arab people surge forward freely and spontaneously. In a few days this people was able to shake the whole world and arouse the admiration of all peoples and free men. It was able to prove tangibly that it could influence world order. The world might lose its equilibrium should the will of the Arab nation be ignored, should the others ignore the interest of this nation. Arab heroism, Arab bravery and efficiency gave shining examples when they were given the opportunity for fulfillment in the days of that war. A new era has begun. The West and the Eeast have become aware that a new phenomenon as risen, the Arab power, the Arab will. A short period of Arab solidarity imposed by the Arab masses on the governments has frightened imperialism and shaken its foundations in Europe and America. It has also shaken Zionism and the foundations of its artificial and shaky doctrine. How much more could have been achieved were this nation united! How much more powerful the Arabs would be if they were one state with one will, one plan, one economy, one army; if they had unified scientific and ideological capabilities and had come back to the homeland after expatriation and despair, working for one objective.

« The working class is a guarantee for the success of the revolution and the values of the party. A speech to the general union of trade unions in the Iraqi region, 7 - June 22, 1974 ».

If the June defeat was incapable of killing us, how could the enemies have overcome us when we were on the verge of achieving complete victory, had it not been for the weakening of certain leaderships, the leaderships you know, and were it not for their suspect connections and their failure to understand and appreciate the inexhaustible potential of the Arab masses?

« The growing Arab capability is able to stand up to the enemies. Speech to the Syrian comrades in Baghdad, 7 - June 22, 1974 ».

The new Arab power revealed by the recent war is not merely a material power. It is an ethical force. It is heroism as well as a comprehension of the destiny of the nation, its existence from the distant past to the distant future. It is moral experience as well as a scientific efficiency and maturity. Such results could not have been attained if the Arab masses and the Arab nation in general had not reached a new level of national maturity and scientific efficiency. This level was reached at an extraordinary speed as a consequence of the impact of the June defeat on the Arab soul. It was an urge and a provocation that lifted the Arab souls and wills from one level into another. Thus was the process of fruition.

« The growing Arab capability is able to stand up to the enemies. A speech to the Syrian comrades in Baghdad, 7 - June 23, 1974 ».

The decision to participate in the October war was one that only leaders of historic moment could take. Despite the doubts which surrounded the regimes which started the war and the knowledge that they were prepared to arrange settlements and that they were incapable of taking a decisive revolutioary course, the resolution to take part in that war was an expression of the faith in the Arab masses, of the belief in the capability of the Arab nation to give much more than was calculated by the rulers of the a regimes, and a belief in its capacity to change the nature of that war. This is in fact what

happened. The October war will remain one of the most glorious Arab battles, for it was a victory over the enemies and over the regimes who wanted it to be a game of limited dimensions. The participation of Iraq was proportionate to the historic importance of the decision. I believe that the participation of the Iraqi Army and its deployment on the Arab soil in the Syrian region will have an imperishable effect. Its impact will not be negligeable. It has achieved something lasting and creative. I remember having told some Syrian comrades who came to me in the last days of that war urging the expediting of unity between Syria and Iraq: You may rest assured that unity has taken place as a result of this participation; it is a question of time and nothing more.

« The experiment of the Baath in Iraq is a starting point for the Arab revolution. A speech to the advanced cadres of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, Baghdad, 7 - June 24, 1974 ».

The revolutionary organisation

... And the Second condition is practical and related to the organisation of the movement. As it is based on a comprehensive Arab ideology, its organisation should also be on all-encompassing Arab scale. And as it is founded on a vital and realistic ideology related to fundamental questions, organisation must in turn depend on the classes which represent these fundamental questions in order to secure success. As the ideology of the Arab Baath stands on three pillars liberty, socialism and Arab Unity, organisation must depend on the new generation which represents consciousness, moral strength will and faith, and on the majority of the Arabs who have a vital interest in the overthrow. The organisation should also be on a comprehensive and indivisible Arab scale so that it will not face inner strife which negates one part in affirming the other.

« The Comprehensive ideology, 1 - 1950 ».

The drive of a certain idea and a certain orientation grows strong in proportion to the distance, not to nearness. When you were far from the idea of the party and its orientation, you hungered and thirsted for this idea, you sought to penetrate it and incorporate it in your personalities and actions. Is there any need to corrobarate this by citing certain historical events and personalities? Who does not remember Umar Ibn Al-Khattab? He was the greatest opponent of the call of Islam, but when his heart was open to it, he became its greatest support and pillar, as if his previous hostility was nothing but a negative picture of his profound readiness to em-

brace it. But it was genuine readiness, impervious to shallowness and falsehood. He did not want, therefore, to accept it without scrutiny, suspicion and alertness. It was as if his opposition was a test of that call, nay, a test of himself. Was he worthy of it? Was his soul big enough for that call, its profundity and gravity? He was testing himself... When the test was accomplished, he came glad to embrace it and was distinguished in it.

« I swear to the Baath, 6 - 1950 ».

This means first that this base does not criticise for the sake of diversion or for revenge, but it criticises through a genuine concern for the party. Behind its criticism there is action, work and sacrifices. It has, therefore, a full right to question and know whether its efforts and sacrifices are taking the course which will achieve the objectives of such sacrifices, or whether sacrifices have been made in vain, for personal, unsound and anti-national ends. It means, secondly, that objection and criticism, when they are the outcome of practise, will be serious and right. He who practises political activites will know by experience and suffering what he is required to do in this case. When he objects he does not do so as a matter of theorising but because he realises that there is some error being made.

« The duty of members - The gravity of Party responsibility, 6 - April, 1955 ».

The healthy state of affairs is when the words of the base are equal to its acts and its rights equal to its responsabilities so that it does not demand more than it renders in service and action. It does not object and protest except in proportion to its daily support and action and performance.

When the member puts his interest in the party, the small work entrusted to him [for execution] will no longer be small but something throbbing with life and which summarizes the mission of the party.

Our view of a free organistaion does not contradict partial execution and the development of specialised ca-

pabilities. Specialisation is in execution, while in the mind and the soul there is no specialisation or division. The soul must be the mirror of the oneness of personality and the oneness of the cause of the party.

« The duty of leaderships - How we understand organisation, 6 - June, 1955 ».

The doctrine of the party is not merely to uphold the dogma and denounce any distortion and deviation that it may undergo, but also, and especially, to perform all the tasks and duties which the doctrine requires so that it may be directed towards realization. The doctrine is the idea of its realisation. The doctrine is thinking and execution at the same time. The doctrinaire member is not only one who knows the doctrine but also one who knows it and applies it, and he applies because he knows it, for doctrinal knowledge contains within itself the principle of realisation. The doctrinaire is one who is committed to realising what he believes.

« The defence of the doctrine cannot be but an attack, 5 - June, 1955 ».

Organisation in essence is spirit, love and respect for human dignity. A mechanical organisation is disrespect for man, because it treats the members as no more than numbers, while men are not numbers. Men are different from each other, for each man has something in him which makes him ready to serve his cause and idea in a special way that is not possible for any other. The organiser should treat the members of his division by name and with full regard to their personality. I cannot understand how an organiser can enter and look at the entire division as if it was a mysterious body, that performs his task automatically. The division is a metaphorical body. To facilitate work we have divided the party into divisions, but in fact we cannot regard numbers fifty thirty and ten as one and the same thing.

« The duty of leaderships - How we understand organisation, 6 - June, 1955 ».

The idea of organisation in our party is connected with the philosophy of the party itself and it is very hard to separate the idea of organisation from the fundamental idea of liberty. We always pursue, urge and, bring to attention the idea that organisation in our party should reach the highest degree of order and precision, but we do not mean at all by this that we want to make a machine out of the party and small parts of this machine out of its members. The member is not a part of the party. This is a wrong conception. The member is the party in miniature. The party organisations are not the party. The division is not a part, but it is the party in miniature. Therefore the organisers and leaders in the party are not parts which when added together form a complete whole. No, each one of them is a complete person, but they assume parts of the task.

« The duty of leaderships - How we understand organisation, 6 - June, 1955 ».

Value does not lie in rank as far as the task is concerned. The highest the middle or the lowest rank, are not of value by themselves. The value lies in performing the task in the best way possible, in being deeply absorbed in it when performing it, in being faithful to it and in giving it its full due of effort and careful attention.

« The duty of leaderships - How we understand organisation, 6 - June, 1955 ».

Work in the lower ranks is nearer to life for it is always work with the members as free individuals. The way is more open, then, for educating such members as free individuals. The road is more open for educating such members in the use of freedom for the growth of their talents, capabilities and virtues, for nothing can equal direct contact. This is the worthy and creative work. It is a direct influence of one freedom on similar freedomes, of one will on similar wills, one soul on other souls.

« The duty of leaderships - How we understand organisation, 6 - June, 1955 ».

If organisation in the Nazi way has hurt the Germans, it will hurt the Arabs many times more. The German nation was advanced, had passed through a high stage of civilisation. Its history was in the ascendancy. It had its share of freedom and that freedom gave rise to culture and thought... then came a time in which that nation was stricken by defeat in war. The defeat had its impact on the German spirit. Despair seeped through and gave a feeling that it might be better to restrict freedom for a temporary period so that the Germans could resolve their affairs and realise a national objective.

This was the justification for that kind of organisation. But the advanced, free people, rich in culture and thoughts could not be transformed overnight into a machine even when it was described as a machine, for its entire structure was founded on liberty. That kind of organisation had injured them and involved them in many dangers and ordeals. But we must remember the difference between the case of the Arabs and that of the German nation. The case of the Arabs is that we have ceased for centuries to be in touch with civilisation. We have forgotten liberty for hundreds of years. We have lost the urge for creativeness and the requisites of the independence of the personality which knows how to act. We are, therefore, in need of that which will release in us these potentialities which have been buried and stifled. We are in need of the formation of the free, responsible, independent, self-conscious Arab individual. We need the creation of the Arab man, for the humane view in our milieu has been almost non-existent. For this reason I have said that the idea of the organisation should not be different from the philosopy of the party itself.

« The duty of leaderships - How we understand organisation, 6 - June, 1955 ».

The great destiny, brethren, is formed out of simple and small acts, out of our daily conduct. The great destiny of the individual and the nation does not descent all of a sudden from heaven. It is the outcome of daily small

acts which accumulate, ferment and reach their conclusion. Then destiny rises up.

« The great destiny and the daily acts, 6 - December, 1956 ».

The overthrow organisation which we need but which has not yet reached the necessary level, requires that the members of party devote all their time to the task of the party and make of the overthrow party work the sole occupation of their lives. They live by it and get their subsistence from it. In it they put all their potentialities, capabilities, talents, hopes and ambitions. Only through this can such individual have a deep nationalist militant experience as a result of long practise and daily confrontation with problems, and as a result of making mistakes and rectifying them through experience, practise, supervision, daily and direct contact with the life of the people, acquainting himself with their problems and touch with the life of the party as well experiencing all its problems and affairs. This leads to acquiring a new experience every day and every year. On this basis the party will be enabled to create individuals, who are few at the biginning but who grow into hundreds and thousands. Every one of them, through this experience, practise and faith solidified by continuous struggle, will have the efficiency and expertise of a thousand. He will be able to create life and motion in another thousand. He will be a source of illumination, guidance and strength for the totality of the people. The educated youths who have become conscious that their historic place is within this movement of overthrow and have advanced toward it and marched in its frontlines should complete this consciousness by struggling, overthrowing, organised and popular action. They should not stop at the first stage of this consciousness but ascend to a higher stage, so that they learn how to make their participation the best and most satisfactory and allow it to bring forth the best and most profound fruits of the life of the nation at this stage.

« The relation of organisation to overthrow action, 1 - 1957 ».

Organisation is fundamental and vital and accompanies the overthrow action, nay, it is of the nature of that action and derives its strength from its idea of overthrow.

« The relation of organisation to overthrow action, 1 - July, 1957 ».

We do not think of organisation per se, that is we do not see it as isolated from the idea with which it is connected and from which its rules and limits are inspired. The removal of organisation from the idea makes its value purely technical. It could then be used for good and evil at the same time.

« The relation of organisation to overthrow action, 1 - July, 1957 ».

The army is a popular army. In it there are militants attached to the cause of the masses. They are the party members in the army. They are similar to their comrades in the party whether they are workers, peasants or intellectuals. They have the right to live the life of the party to the full. The military, like other comrades, have the right to participate within their organisation in directing the party and making its policy and programs. They have the full right, as others, to criticism and self-criticism. What we want to say about the function of the army is that the military should not be involved in the tasks of leadership of the party or the government.

« A speech to the branches - The Syrian region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

I would like to mention, with regard to the women comrades and the obstacles and difficulties they encounter which are natural in our societies, that the great national events and the national battles shorten time. They condense decades in a few days. Before them such obstacles melt and vanish. Souls and wills are liberated when they discover their national tasks and when they perform such tasks and duties. A good deal of the equality to

which the Arab woman aspires will be realised in the atmosphere of battles and national events of destiny, especially as our destiny will increase in all dimensions with time.

« The universality of the Baath idea is a national need of life, 7 - June 21, 1974 ».

Revolutionary conduct

The resoluteness of opinion was one of their noblest traits. They did not acquiesce when their doctrine was at stake. They did not humour others, for when they saw right on one side, they opposed for its sake all the other sides. Instead of trying to ingratiate themselves to everybody, they angered everyone whom they believed to be wrong and corrupt. They were cruel to themselves, cruel to others. When they discovered something wrong in their thinking, they were not hesitant or ashamed to admit it and rectify it, for their goal war the truth and not themselves. When they perceived right anywhere, the son would leave his father for its sake the friend his friend.

« The heroic era, 1 - 1935 ».

Heroism does not always lie in the attack. It can also be in patience and steadfastness. Courage does not only lie in combating the apparent enemy but also, and particularly so, in fighting the inner enemy, that is, man fights in himself despair, relaxation and the love of comfort.

« The heroic era, 1 - 1935 ».

Life has laws which differ from the natural laws in this fundamental point: natural laws are discovered once, while the laws of life have to be rediscovered by every person in his own life.

« The earth and heaven, 1 - 1941 ».

Our idealism is the optimist spirit which is confident of itself, its nation and the future. This believing soul maintains that noble principles do not exist for the pleasure of talking about them. They are not to be written on paper, but they are life itself and those principles have been realised in many stages of history when there were believers working faithfully. These principles can be realised anew. Our idealism is that we live in the middle of this milieu where we see corruptions on every side but we have determined to fight and overcome these. In doing this we never lose our hope that from this putrid milieu may emerge the light of the Arab life.

« Illusory idealism, 1 - 1942 ».

The idealist is not the opposite of the realist, for the realist is not one who surrenders to reality but who understands it.

« Protective idealism, 1 - 1943 ».

If they gave us possession of the whole earth or if they gave us today the Arab state in which the Baath aims could be realised but said that faith would not exist in the life of the people of that ideal state, we would say: better for us to remain a fragmented, colonised, exploited, oppressed and enslaved nation until we reach, through suffering, through our conflict with our destiny, with ourselves, the discovery of our human truth.

« The belief, 1 - 1943 ».

We have to restore to words their meaning, their strength and their sacredness. We should make the word telling about an action we have performed the reminder of an action we failed to perform. We should not talk about anything except that which we are capable of

achieving until the time when we are able to realise everything that we say.

« In memory of the Arab Prophet, 1 - April, 1943 ».

We are performing the role of those who prepare. Our task is to open the path for the new generation and not pave it, to remove the thorns and not plant myrtle, sow the eternal seeds and not pluck the ripe fruits. For this reason we are not going to rule shortly. We shall remain in the ranks of fighters for a long time.

The aggravation of the ills which are playing havoc with the nation and the depth of sufferings it is undergoing no longer can be cured by the ability of politicians however clever and intelligent they are. They have to be Tackled by believing fighters who are inspired, by the spirit of their struggle and its methods, by the soul of their nation and its ethics.

« We warn the ruling clique from going on in its policies, 4 - July 24, 1943 ».

When there is backwardness and weakness, the responsibility of the individual becomes enlarged, for he sees every move he makes as capable of injuring his nation while to serve it becomes hard if not impossible. His interest in his own life and his own benefits will not only be a negligence of public service but it could be in many cases as something directed against public interest. The individual will not be, in this case, a cell in the body of the nation, who, by nourishing it nourishes himself, but an enemy of that body who cannot get strength except from its weakness and can fatten himself only through making that body lean. When that individual, wants to enter into public life he will soon find that, despite his real desire to serve, he is led by a hidden and irresistible force to exploit this service for himself and for his interests, and he obtains his bread from it and by it. All this despite his intention to devote himself and his life to that service. He will realise that his participation in the

public service in order to arrive at one common goal for the nation, will end up, when added to the participation of the others, will only lit some individuals reach different private goals, that is, to isolate the nation from its aspirations.

« The new Arab generation, 1 - 1944 ».

One of the qualities of the decadent generation is that it judges the present as a historian. It interprets only but leaves no impact. It changes reasons into pretexts and may change pretexts into philosophical principles and ethical rules. There is no harm in our judgement of Jahiliyah (Pre-Islam) being explicatory, when we discover virtues in it and find excuses for its vices. But Islam has judged it in a vital and living way and was decisive in this. Those who judge the older generation by way of explication are part of it even though they are in their prime of youth, Nay, they are inferior to it for the shortcoming that the older generation was forced to have, younger generation is intentionally showing it. As the realisation is always inferior to the ideal, so the generation which takes the conclusions reached by the previous generation as ideals and objectives will inevitably be inferior to it in both creativeness and action.

« The new Arab generation, 1 - 1944 ».

When mentioning the new Arab generation we mean a generation which has not come to life yet, although there are potentialities for its existence. It is in vain that we look forward to the rise of this generation if its idea has not emerged, for its distinctive quality is that it is all idea, and its action is a projection of its idea. If the idea does not exist, this generation is inexistent. There is an action that falls down from its resembling the idea but it is the remnant of action representing its dissolution and turbidity, coming as an excuse and justification. For this reason it is the worst part in it and it is always in-

ferior. Action is not its illumination but a concentration of its darkness.

If should not be understood by the new generation that it is the generation of the youth. Youth is not idea but it is a suitable condition for its growth.

« The new Arab generation, 1 - 1944 ».

The combatants are the people who most deserve to rejoice, for joy activates in them the spirit of struggle, renews it and urges continuation and integration.

We rejoice in spite of our deep sufferings, for joy is not the contrast of pain but its true and good fruit. The true combatants are those who transform their pain into a joy which revives their struggle. Joy is like suffering, no, it is more than suffering in that it is felt and borne only by strong and profound souls.

« A speech in the anniversary of the evacuation entitled: The faith in the unity of the Arabs made it possible for Syria to be independent, 4 - Al-Baath - April 21, 1947 ».

There is an obvious difference between combatants and adventurers. Combatants create the struggle and remain nevertheless means subject to the law of the movement which they have created. They transform all the powers conferred to them by the struggle into powers which nourish the movement itself and help it to be more steadfast and resistant, and they make of this a drive for the advance which is consonant with the idea. Adventurers are those who are attracted by the struggle in its facile and enthusiastic stages. They infliltrate its ranks without faith. When they acquire some fame and influence they soon discover that escaping from the rigid restraints of the struggle and its long course allows them to leap into the field of personal success. This will suddenly and speedily lead them towards conspiracy and treason. For those people have no middle course.

« To the conscious combatants, 4 - Al-Baath - January 5, 1950 ».

The real leaders are those who know how to obey the idea and the loyal members are those who obey the idea through the guidance of the leaders...

« The Arab Baath is the will of life, 1 - April, 1950 ».

We are not separated from the future which the Arab Baath talks about and which is the object of our action and struggle by a period that can be calculated in months and years. It is a psychological moment that we can realise and possess at this time, and by possessing it we can possess eternity.

The future is not the time which will come, but the psychological and intellectual level to which we should reach at the present time.

« The future, 1 - 1950 ».

Do not think that the party is something that exists outside the souls of its members. The party is its members. The party is each one of you, and as you are, so is the party. The way you want the party to be, it will be. This theory is formed by the self-reliance of the party members and their deep personal drive. It is a theory which insure growth for our party... and through it the party will overcome weakness and be elevated and leap until it reaches the standard enabling it to realise its aims and objectives.

« I swear for the Baath, 6 - 1950 ».

A serious party of overthrow does not rely on amateurishness and does not accept amateurs in its ranks. This party has either to be born out of irrestible feeling, from the deep and painful feeling of a vital and invincible necessity which urges the vanguards of our nation to sacrifice and suffering in order to rescue the nation from the danger of death and annihilation, or be a self-deceit and a deceit for the people which demands its support. Work in a party of overthrow is not a hobby or a whim but

the most hazardous and serious of tasks. It is, as it has been known to the party from its inception, a « mession ». When we understand the task of the party in this way we shall consequently perceive that the only thing worthy of a party of this description is strict organisation which is not satisfied by adding the capacities and the talents together and making use of the time of its members, but makes its objective the creation of new people, new persons adapted to the exigencies of this grave task. Organisation is not addition but first and foremost creativeness and inventiveness first and foremost.

« Our party does not accept the exploitation of the actual reality, 5 - Al-Baath - April 9, 1954 ».

It is just to say that our idealism is realistic for we do not content ourselves with dreaming of high ideals, but we endeavour to realise them and die for their sake. I have told, brethren, that the real Baathist is one who combines the two contrasts. The Baathist is one who lives himself and does not imitate. He finds himself only in the most distant village of the homeland and in the remotest citizen among the inhabitants of the Arab soil. We do not discover ourselves in reclusion and isolation but find ourselves, and find ourselves true and pure, through the contact with the vast Arab land. We find ourselves through the understanding of the problems and sufferings of our people, sympathy with them and being completely immersed in them. There we discover our souls, and there is our party, and not within the four walls of a bureau.

« The Baathist fills the present by his future, 5 - Al-Baath - October 3, 1954 ».

It is necessary to increase tension and conflict. It is necessary to have a constant drive and fight every kind of lethargy and every tendency toward comfort and every attempt to terminate or shorten the struggle or shorten it. This as I have said, is the task of the members, for

they feel this shortcoming and it is they whose conscience revolts when they see the movement being swayed by routine slogans and putting all its faith in the re-iteration of words or the glorification of values which, though new, will be similar to the old values if we do not bring life to them day by day.

« Our living view of the Party, 1 - April, 1955 ».

Politics are a test of our idealism: is it the idealism of the incapable, those who build illusions or is it the living and scientific idealism of those who want to create and act? For this reason we have made politics a test of faith and idealism but never an end in itself.

« Our live view of the Party - April, 1955 ».

Knowledge cannot be correct if it is not tested by action. Action enriches and rectifies it.

« The ambition of the Baath, 1 - March, 1957 ».

Real confidence in the people is deeper than that. It begins by truth, that is, the combatants are faithful in their action and confident of themselves. After this they ought to gain the confidence of the people, for the potentialities of our people are rich and deep, but most of them are hidden and unknown.

« The ambition of the Baath, 1 - March, 1957 ».

We should not commit the mistake made by previous politicians when they said something to the people and meant something else... When they falsely proffessed high ideals but worked for personal gain. They made a show of big words but in their inner selves they were lacking in drive... but we began by taking notice of this deceit and by being on our guard against it and we repeatedly said at the beginning of our movement that our task is a mission and not politics.

« Benefiting from the mistakes of past and present, 5 - June, 1959 ».

Real education is obtained during the periods of stress. Therefore the Arab revolutionary youth should not despair and be saddened when the nation undergoes a shock or even a calamity for so long as the youth is in possession of the fundamental virtue, self-confidence, together with the other fundamental virtue, truthfulness in self-cristicism, it will see in the shok or the calamity a new challenge of destiny to it and to its nation so that the latter will transcend itself and be uplifted to a higher degree of ethics, thinking and human significance.

« Benefiting from the mistakes of past and present, 5 - June, 1959 ».

Although we knew better than all others the ills brought by imperialism and its interests and all the injustice and backwardness it inflicted on us, we did not accept for ourselves, as a combatant generation nor did we accept for our nation, as a nation driven towards revival, to rest comforted by this view and abandon action... The Baath view has opened a new path in thinking and feeling, the path of virility and self reliance. It has closed the doors to all escapism so that the Arab will not shirk responsibility and rely on prextests and excuses of external factors. This attitude, as you know, has not weakened our struggle but has strengthened it. This new approach has not given rise to relaxation of the fight with imperialism, but it has been an urge for struggle. This view helps realise two things.

1. - To see mistakes and knowing our own mistakes.
2. - To see our virtues and strong points.

« Benefiting from the mistakes of past and present, 5 - June, 1959 ».

The means should not be separated from the end. Revolutions and revivals help create a new man, independent in personality, free in thought, capable of production and creativeness as well as able to shoulder responsibility. Machiavellism, which resorts to lying and gives no regard for ethics, should never be applied.

« The landmarks of progressive nationalism, 1 - 1960 ».

It is sufficient that a few individuals remain in this party, persons who have the courage to persevere reject dictatorship and falsehood and refuse to keep silent when crimes are committed. It is sufficient that some persons remain for the party not to die, and for its truth not to be extinguished, for one true man is capable of defeating hundreds of falsifiers and liars.

« A speech to the branches - The Syrian region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

Comrades, go back to history ... to the history of revolutionary movements in the world and you will find groups similar to this one... they are the opportunists, the reformers, right-wingers who stand in the middle of the road and are afraid of proceeding further in the revolutionary struggle. They are content to work within the framework of the reactionary regime and with opposing it in a partial way, without bearing the hardships of the revolution which demand a brave and radical stand and a long and persistent struggle. You can know their reality through their actions... and through comparing their methods with those of the party.

« A speech to the branches - The Syrian region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

Victories intoxicate only shallow vain people and intruders upon the revolution and the party, for the true combatants become increasingly humble with each victory they achieve. They know they are nothing but the means to that victory and that the people are the victor.

« In memory of the Ramadhan Revolution, 3 - February 8, 1965 ».

Students and youth

When young people imitate what they have come to know of the advanced world and when they are deluded that the aim of their lives is to devote their life to personal affairs, private success and free abstract thinking, as young people do in those nations, they will be betraying their nation as well as themselves, for they will not be able to achieve that kind of individual succes, free culture and special creativeness while living in a nation whose conditions are like ours. Moreover, they will be shirking the greatest and most honourable responsibility, the responsibility of a generation destined to achieve this historic overthrow.

« The duty of nationalist action, 1 - 1943 ».

The young people of those nations are entrusted with advancement, not with preparation for advancement, with following it up and not providing conditions for it. As the youth of our nation, the nation which is suffering from fragmentation, backardness and the loss of freedom and sovereignty, this youth is not destined to enjoy progress and live a life of stability and civilisation; its fate is the fate of a fighting generation, a combating generation, preparing, by its struggle, the conditions for freedom, stability and progress for the forthcoming generations.

« The duty of nationalist action, 1 - 1943 ».

It behooves the wouth to always be inspired by that spiritual fountainhead and to know that those who were

able to record something in this life, to have their impact on history, were those who had the faith of heroes and who preserved in themselves the innocence of children and the force of their drive for the ideals without any consideration of the hardships and to the pressure of their milieu.

« Our live view of the Party, 1 - April, 1955 ».

Man when young has the highest degree and the most potent of living virtues. If he is incapable of expressing them in words and with completeness, wisdom and serenity, it is because they are living and burning virtues, the vitality of which does not allow them to be put into words, wise speech and serene ideas. They do not give them the chance of looking backward, supervising and witnessing instead of propelling and acting, instead of deciding and creating.

« The expertise of the elders and the drives of the youth, 1 - 1955 ».

Because of the age of youth, and their lack of concern regarding all the interests to which individuals become attached after being immersed in the problems of life, and also because of the education of the youth, all these factors: age, disinterestedness, and the awareness resulting from education, pave the way for the formation and acceptance of this view which has very distant aims and which is daring in its ambition and simple at the same time. If it was not simple in the eye of those who responded to its call, they would not have come to embrace it and they would not have believed in its capacity for realisation.

« Our idea on the way of realisation, 5 - March, 1956 ».

When we come into contact with reality.. when we interact with this reality, we discover this flexibility which makes us abandon some of the secondary points

in our ideas for the sake of realising the most fundamental of them.

When the youth stagnate and stop at the point of their first spiritual standpoint, they will not grow to be men and at the same time they will not remain young. When the young stick to their first awareness after conditions have necessitated further development and require the young to move from the stage of thinking and propagation to the stage of realisation, they sentence themselves to live like old and decrepit people who spend their time remembering and crying over what has not been achieved. Such young people lose both manhood and youth.

« Our idea on the way of realisation, 5 - March, 1956 ».

Here we grasp the crisis point in the spirit of young people. It is the crisis of youth everywhere and at all time.

Brethren, it is natural that no movement, however faithful and strong, can change anything in a milieu from which it remains distant and into which it does not enter, when it does not become part of it, flesh and blood. Influence can only be exercised through this contact and interaction. In order to change the milieu you have to enter into it, and you have to create a living connection between it and yourselves. The movement should not preach, for it leads nowhere. What some people may consider a loss that should have been avoided is in fact a gain and advancement, for without this step... without this interplay with the milieu the idea will lose every capacity for creativeness and effective and earnest influence in its milieu. There is a price which has to be paid if the idea is to move from the realm of the abstract into that of life.

Life, brethren, does not show us complete and brilliant things except in books, on paper and in art works. In human reality there are no perfect things, for life by nature cannot be complete. If it is complete, it is death. I urge you to look deeply into this observation and try

to see this transformation which is not visible and not tangible. To grasp it we have to exert our thinking. It is particularly necessary to grasp it, to suffer and experience it so that one can realise that what appeared to him as a loss was in fact a transformation from one aspect to another.

The view which you are required to adopt and abide by as a fighting generation that exists to act and radically change the conditions of its nation, not to stop at the confines of meditation and wishful thinking, is this: it is better to renounce some of the perfection of the initial image, provided that our idea is put into action and becomes embodied and realised, than to keep a perfect idea which remains on paper.

« Our idea on the way of realisation, 5 - March, 1956 ».

You may enquire: how things are suddenly and unpredictably reversed in the history of nations, and you may ask whether such sudden changes are the work of persons. A quick answer to this is that the basis of such changes is the growth of the thought of the people and the increase in their awareness. When such growth and awareness become sufficient they create the suitable conditions for the emergence of exceptional persons. Then comes the role of persons. The role of extraordinary persons is undeniable in the making of history, but it is wrong to assume that they have existed by chance. They are the outgrowth of their nation and its fermentation. Thereafter, their nation represents itself in them. In turn they urge its forward march.

« The Arab struggle in face of imperialism and Israel, 5 - October, 1956 ».

The Arab nation is not Nuri As-Saeed or the governments of Syria and Lebanon. It is much deeper and richer than that, but it has not yet been truly represented. The children of the nation rely only on the people for their struggle and do not despair when the governments

capitulate. The people never belies this confidence and that optimism, for every day brings with it something new and a favorable surprise, and expresses unexpected potentialities. The governments were waiting for a pretext to sever the relation not only between Tunisia and the Arab East but also between Tunisia, Algeria and Marocco, for they have severed themselves from the people.

« The struggle of the Maghreb and the method of negotiation, 5 - March, 1956 ».

We have said since the inception of this party fifteen years ago and since the first battle of the struggle, that the Arab nation in this age is still at the stage of potentiality and has only been partially realised. All its capacities and forces are still hidden and invisible and it is our duty to stake all we have on these potentialities and struggle to bring them out, discover and realise them. Consequently our policy should be the policy for the future, and should always look to the future. We should consider the present a stage, a means that must be put at the service of that future which is rich in forces and potential. It follows from this that the difference between the people, who are the reservoir of this potential and the governments tackling the present situation is very great. These governments, if they have a grain of faithfulness—should avoid considering themselves a true image of the people, for by doing so they will impoverish the people to the utmost degree, for although the potentialities of the governments are very scarce those of the people are plentiful.

« The relation between the governments and the Arab people, 5 - April 12, 1956 ».

Popular pressure would never harm governments when they are faithful, for it is their sole and their greatest power. Every government which remains frightened and suspicious of popular pressure expresses in this fright and suspicion its remoteness from the people

and a lack of sincerity in its policy as well as a lack of regard for the people.

« The relation between the governments and the Arab people, 5 - April 12, 1956 ».

In a people passing through a stage of revival—as we have said—matters cannot remain static and quiet. Everything changes and develops as a consequence of the vitality of the people, their drive and their feeling for their rights and human identity.

« The relation between the governments and the Arab people, 5 - April 12, 1956 ».

How should we bring up these people and respect them and respect their will and freedom? Should we treat them as we treat those who are underage? Should we pay them lip-service and despise them in the depths of our souls? Should we ingratiate ourselves to them in appearance while we are frightened by them in reality? How should we bring them up to make them responsible so that they will protect the revolution, for it is their own revolution... Leaderships change and vanish but the people remain. If these values and ideals are not put at the service of the revolutionary people and if they do not become an integral part of them if they do not become something natural to them nothing will protect our revolution. It will fail and imperialism will come back for a while, for we shall have forgotten to be concerned about our revolution and to be faithful to our principles. We shall have neglected our people who are both the means and the end of our revolution.

« The humaneness of the struggle of the Arab nation, 5 - Baghdad, Late July, 1958 ».

Students combine two essential and revolutionary qualities: youth and education. Revolution is by nature a youthful spirit, the spirit of revolution is the spirit of

rebellion. It is the spring of the soul, the warm hope which moves man to aspire to perfection, and all this is expressed by youth. Education is the greatest weapon in the hand of the revolution for it transforms the revolution and transforms the revolutionary hopes and objectives from sentiments and vague wishes into a high degree of elear consciousness, and planned and organised consciousness.

« The new stage is a stage of foundation, 3 - October 23, 1969 ».

The masses are the final authority. The masses, today more than at any time before, are the makers of revolution and makers of history.

« The masses are the guarantee, 3 - October, 1970 ».

What is the evidence of the vitality of a revolutionary party? The first evidence is the number of young people adhering to it, and the second evidence is the adherence of the toiling popular masses.

« The Baath and the armed struggle, 3 - January 16, 1970 ».

The national front

What we want to say about the function of the army is that the military should not be involved in the tasks of leadership of the party of the government. The division should be right, that is, it should be confined to the minimum necessary in every sound liberation movement. In other words, the division should differentiate between the overwhelming majority of the children of the homeland, who, have in common, whatever their different likes and dislikes, and interests and interpretation, share a national brotherhood and have a common one supreme interest in the protection of the survival of the nation and the security of the homeland and its independence on the one hand and the small number of stooges, agents and hirelings of the enemies of the country on the other. This kind of division we not only accept but demand and make a condition. The important thing is that we should not let anybody follow imperialism and act against the interest of the people and the homeland merely through lack of consciousness and lack of clarity in the liberation objectives, and for the emergence of injustifiable and unreasonable illusions and fears. Such fears will give imperialism the opportunity to exploit and corrupt.

« Let us unify the leadership of the Arab struggle, 2 - May 17, 1957 ».

The principal and final objective of the present stage, which is the liberation from imperialism, is not one that anybody can contest. But the seriousness of this objective depends on the path we choose to attain it, and on the

fundamental guarantees which define the correctness of that path and consequently the truthfulness of the adoption of that objective. The guarantees are first, the defence of the political freedom and the constitutional conditions, second; the work for Arab unity in all possible fields and third, the realisation of necessary social reforms to raise the people's standard of living. This is what the parties and groups can agree on and co-operate for in one Arab popular front.

« Let us unify the Arab struggle, 2 - May 17, 1957 ».

The period of secession has been a profound lesson for all combatants. It has proved that the disunity of the Arab progressive forces can only serve imperialism and reaction and that differences, however great they may be among the forces of the Arab revolutionary camp, should never be allowed to exceed a certain limit, otherwise imperialism, reaction, Zionism and the enemies of the Arab nation will exploit them.

« In memory of the Ramadhan Revolution, 3 - February 8, 1965 ».

The Baath party has never been hostile to communism or fought it. This is the task of the reactionary parties and the Baath Party is not one of them.

« A speech to the branches - The Syrian region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

These militant bases are called upon today to transcend routine classifications and to breathe the air of the battle of destiny, the air of the objective outlook, in order to create a new revolutionary generation and build an indistructible base for the Arab revolution which will bring capitulation and fragmentation to an end and impose unity and liberation.

« The call of the historic responsibility, 3 - March, 1971 ».

Foreign policy

We know that the Arabs see no reason to antagonise a great nation like Soviet Russia which has been expressing has expressed, since the emergence of her new system, sympathy with the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence. Moreover, the Arabs hope that the intentions of the Soviet state will have a good and practical impact on international politics. Their friendship with her will be strengthened to the extent that they feel the sincerity of these intentions and their harmony with their national interest.

« Arab nationalism and its attitude towards communism, 4 - 1944 ».

The policy which weighs heavily on the affairs of the Arabs is the policy of the two Anglo-Saxon states, Britain and the United States. Nothing can equal this policy in impact and force and counter-balance its danger except the policy of a great country which has always been on guard against the designs of British and American imperialism: the Soviet Union. One of the simplest political rules and the first national duty of the governments that are consciuos of the interest of their countries, governments which are free to take their stands internationally, is to fight their enemies with the help of the enemies of their enemies, or at least to use theem as a threat and concentrate their attention figthing the enemy which occupies a good deal of their soil, the enemy which attacks their very nationality.

« The reason for the weakness of our foreign policy, 9 - July 10, 1946 ».

It has become clear today that the interests of the Arab nation and the Soviet Union meet, and have met for a long time on more then one vital point. The Arab nation struggles for political and economic liberation from Western imperialism, while the Soviet Union sees the continuation of the Western military and economic occupation, of the Arab land as a direct danger to its existence. Therefore when it supports the Arabs and provides them with arms and economic aid, it does not aspire to more than closing the Arab countries to Western imperialism and preventing it from using them as a theatre for its war operations and an economic source for augmenting its influence and hegemony. If it is the duty of the Arabs to be realistic and know what interests have changed the Soviet Union's policy towards them and brought it closer to their path and their friendship, it is also realistic to recognise the fundamental difference which separate the socialist countries and capitalist countries. It is in the interests of the socialist countries to be loyal to the principles of their societies based on liberty, justice and peace and opposed to imperialism and exploitation.

« On the visit of Shepilov, 5 - Al-Baath - June 29, 1956 ».

On the Arab Baath movement

Remember, then, when you feel that you want to refresh your activity to pursue the fight « Jihad », that you have been recompensed for your struggle first when you impose events on your opponents and second, by this result, which you could consider a historic turning point in the life of the homeland, the beginning of a formation of a sound national leadership which will restore sacredness and significance to the struggle and fill a vacuum that was threatening the structure of the nation with collapse.

« The people have breathed a sigh of relief, 4 - A manifesto distributed among the masses - March 25, 1945 ».

What has distinguished the ideology of the Arab Baath is that it has not differentiated between the idea and the method, or between the end and means. The thought and the ends are the possession of all. Any individual and any party can claim to have them. But the only guarantee for this claim is that the means and the methods should be derived from the very idea and be consonant with the end. For this reason we have made it a condition that the national leadership should come from the people, not from the intruders and that the nationalist movement should be popular and socialist, paying those who participate in it a sum of money proportionate to their wealth and their income and demanding that they prove the truthfulness of their adherence to the idea of overthrow by committing themselves to the line of opposition and disavowing interest in government for a

long time. All this will save the nationalist movement from being manipulated and played with by various hands and from being adopted by people who are the least suitable for it, and the least faithful to it. The movement has been defined in such a strict way to exclude the intruders, the exploiters, the weaklings and the hasty people, and confine it to the people who are worthy of it by virtue of their education and their social and economic conditions and because they have become ready to carry on the struggle and have also reached a degree of consciousness enabling them to recognise the necessity of overthrow and faithful and continuous action.

« A statement to the Al-Nidhal newspaper on the principles of the party, its program and stands - September 16, 1945 ».

The good word does not satisfy everybody but it divides the people into clear cut two parts. If antagonising a segment of the people yields a clear loss, hardships and worries, this is but the just price for gaining the true sympathisers, those who devote their lives to the service of the idea, for they see in it the significance of their lives.

« The seeds of Al-Baath, 4 - July 3, 1946 ».

We also like to have all the people on our side and to have our idea embraced by all the citizens of our nation, but we know that this will not take place now and it will not happen without hardships. We look forward to the future and work for it, and for this end we sacrifice and conquer the present. We do not pay attention to public opinion, but we strive to make the public have an opinion. We do not care about the present number of our adherents and we wait for their number to be transformed from a mere figure into the reality of tomorrow. We withstand the isolation of the winter for the sake of joy in the spring. In order that the harvest becomes rich we have accepted that the grain be for-

gotten in the soil. Our concern now is to make the roots of the tree unshakeable.

« The seeds of Al-Baath - Al-Baath, 4 - July 3, 1946 ».

But the movement which wants the Baath to be its spokesman has never stopped fighting the people's tendency to temporary impressionability and the hasty credulity of magicians and miracle makers. If there is a distinctinve quality of the Baath movement that it is anxious to preserve, it is that it does not put its trust in surprises and does not believe in facile success. It wants—and this is also the aim of the newspaper—to be a living movement that has deep and unshakeable roots which secure for it survival, stability and natural growth.

« The seeds of the Baath, 4 - July 3, 1946 ».

Our party is an Arab party in the sense that no other party is like it. It does not content itself with the affirmation of the Arab idea but endeavours, in reality, besides its idea, to be the comprehensive Arab party in all the Arab regions. It tackles the Arab problems as an indivisible whole. It does not treat the regional question, including the question of « Syria » except in the light of one Arab nation.

« Our attitude vis-a-vis the present government, 4 - Al-Baath - January 27, 1947 ».

Our powers are not the visible and limited powers. Our powers are of inexhaustible richness. I would add that we depend on another force which is the march of our movement toward human progress. Our aim is to elevate the nation from the state of backwardness to that of work, seriousness and creativeness. History is taking this direction and we move with it. The logic of history demands that the Arab nation rise and occupy a positive and creative place and assume its begin to construct its future. History then is on our side.

« The connection between Arabism (Uruba) and the overthrow movement - 1950 ».

We have developed three qualities in this generation 1 - the awareness of the historical and social pre-requisites; it knows why this transformation was necessary for the nation 2 - ethics; that is, it the vanguard in the front line free from those who only react and surrender to the situation 3 - faith; it knows that it is not enough to understand the necessity of change and appreciate its responsability, but it must also believe that destiny and history and all conditions are propitious for the succes of this overthrow. From these points we have reached the conclusion that the new generation is the means for the overthrow. This generation depends on the individuals for the awareness and faith are to be found in individuals, not in society.

« About the overthrow, 1 - 1950 ».

We will not say to the Arabs that they will reach the unified, free and socialist life, the Baathist life, in the future, when Arab revival has been reached, but we say to them: this is the image we have of that life. This is the life where social disparities, and regional barriers and sectarian shameful stains will vanish as will all the vestiges of servitude, private interests and imitation. Then the future will come to us, will grow in us. It will no longer be something separate from and external to us.

« The future, 1 - 1950 ».

We are nothing but the progeny of our nation. If we have been able to do anything and approach certain virtues and aspire to this idealism, this has not been on our own as individuals, and our action is not due to our individual superiority; the credit for all this goes to the will awakened in our nation which imposes itself on the vanguard of its sons. Let us always believe that what we do and what we think and what we are capable to achieving in ourselves and in society are but a weak echo,

are nothing but an incomplete reality compared with the immortal reality of our nation.

« The Arab Baath is the will of life - April, 1950 ».

In the Baath movement awareness in its highest form meets with faith in its deepest significance. Our movement is self-conscious because it looks forward to the future, because it looks ahead, to the highest level that can be reached by the best thinkers and intellectuals of the Arab people. It is founded on a scientific spirit and well-organised thinking. It combines all that with a deep and fertile faith that provides it with the strength and vitality which enable it to overcome all the obstacles.

« The Arab Baath is a historic movement - 1950 ».

The Baath is not a school of thought to be content with proclaiming a reality in which it believes, it is a movement whose message is the struggle for achieving victory for this reality.

« The organisation of overthrow, 1 - February, 1950 ».

It is supposed that joining the party should not be a continuation of the state that preceded it but an end of and serevance with that state, a new start and progress towards a new psychological state as well as a new level of being. Those who were sympathisers and friends of the party, and shared with this party some of their ideas and actions, should not believe that by joining the party now they could follow their previous course but with more earnestness, more devotion and more giving. We should not look at entering the party as a continuation of a previous stage with some stregthening and development. We must try to look at it as a new state of being which could even be the opposite of the preceding state.

« I swear to the Baath, 6 - 1950 ».

Your party has recorded a new stage in the life of the nation, for it has freed itself from both the illusory ideas and the « Realism » of utilitarian calculation and base interests. It has built its foundations on a rock collossal in strength and solidity which is the interest of millions of the Arabs who want to be liberated from misery so that everyone of them will become a source of life and creativeness for a new civilisation in the world.

« A speech to the first camp of the Baath at Bludan. Al-Baath - September 2, 1950 ».

We believe that the case of our peoples is not a case of persons or that of personal and secondary differences but it is a question of vital social needs and comprehensive national aims. Any rules that do not recognise these needs and aims in depth and do not respond to their call with warmth and truthfulness are artificial rules whose fate is to vanish quickly.

« A new era with an old mentality and eternal family interests. Al-Baath, 5 - September 10, 1950 ».

The number of the Arab Baath is in our view the new Arab, the good Arab. The Arab who is straightforward in thinking and morality. He is the one who has come to understand through experience and free and independent thinking that Uruba (Arabism) cannot be realised except by a clear theory which is self-consistent, firmly based ideologically, incorporated in an active and conscius work. This new Arab is the one we seek and we address.

« The Baathist is the new Arab, 5 - 1950 ».

No doubt that in making this camp ready you have realised a profound fact which is that the revolutionary action is the strongest thing in the life of man, and that the achievement a simple work is stronger than the greatest idea in the realm of mind and illusion. This action and many others which our party has previously

performed and the many and grave actions awaiting to be carried out by it gradually teach us this human truth: We must be liberated from the enslavement of speech and words and everything imaginary and false and to pursue the significance of our life in action alone, in the creative and useful action.

« A speech in the opening of the first camp of the Baath at Bludan - Al-Baath - September 2, 1950 ».

There are many things in life which have value and beauty and the normal man is one who feels and perceives the meanings of life, its value and beauty. But when such values are not available to all the people and when lives of the majority of the people are deprived of any significance joy and dignity, those who understand the beauty of life also understand that their sacrifice of such beautiful things is the only way to give them to all the children of the Arab nation. For this reason they willingly abandon them.

« A speech to welcome those who returned from the camp of Al-Baath at Bludan - It is necessary to sacrifice the beautiful things in life. Al-Baath - September 16, 1950 ».

The party may not always be on the right and sound track, for the party has men and men make mistakes and get slack and slothful. They are exposed to the weaknesses that man is heir to. But the greatest danger is when no people emerge from this mass to draw a comparison between their original aspirations, aims and determinations and that state that the party has reached. When such people do not come up from its depths, the party cannot be rectified changed and brought back to the right road.

« Our Party does not accept the exploitation of the actual state of affairs, 5 - Al-Baath - April 9, 1954 ».

This is our fate and we shall not for a single moment become so sure that we have reached what we aspired

to and that we have possessed reality and taken the right track. In addition to our confidence in our party and our trust in our people we should always have the inner power to review our march, our program and our thinking so that our thinking becomes mature and genuine instead of becoming submerged in superficiality and imitation and so that vanity does not undo us as it has undone many others.

« Our Party does not accept the exploitation of the actual state of affairs, 5 - Al-Baath - April 9, 1954 ».

Beware of stagnant thinking which does not understand the secret of life and its significance. There is no earnest action that has an impact no the status quo and creates a new actuality which is not like the moving see which carries some soil. If you want the action of your party to be historic, let it be like the sea and not like the pure stream. It is easy for our movement to be a pure stream but it will not water a nation and it will not also make history.

« Our living view of the party, 1 - April, 1955 ».

As the movement expands and in proportion to its scale and the increase in its membership, the duty of the member becomes greater than before. Every movement, and this is the nature of social movements and the nature of societies, is liable to lose some if its spontaneity, its freedom, its genuineness and to be submerged in conventional slogans, in words and to become an idol. It is not only persons who will become idols, but the movement and its ideals. This is the worst that can befall a movement that wants to be creative.

« Our live view of the party, 1 - April, 1955 ».

There is no use for knowledge when it becomes the final stage in the journey, when it becomes an end in itself. Knowledge is a bridge to earnest action and if it

is not, it is an opium and a means for vanity and for the justification of laziness and sloth.

« The duty of the member - The gravity of the party responsibility, 5 - April, 1955 ».

He who looks our party broadly and in a far reaching way will know that the emergence of opportunism in it is nothing but an acceleration of the emergence of a new kind of ideology which will be stronger than that which has existed to now. It will have the firmess of faith and the clarity of consciousness which will make it worth of tackling the conditions through realistic action and acting without cowardice or hesitancy.

« The defence of the faith can only be by attack, 5 - June, 1955 ».

The Iraqi government has not come up with something new when it accused our party of spreading destructive doctrines. This is the same deceit with which the ruling clique fought the party since inception, before it was forced to recognise it as a result of the response of the faithful and conscious vanguard to its call. The principles of the Arab Baath have been the foundation of the structure which has begun to rise and emerge in the Arab people in most of the regions. As to the description « Underground organisation » given to the party in Iraq, this is natural for a party which refuses to abandon struggle in a country where public liberties are violated and party life is banned, where even reactionary parties whose objectives meet those of the ruling authorities are disbanded.

« The Saeedi terror in Iraq, 5 - July 27, 1955 ».

This generation, by virtue of its education, is liable to waste a good deal of the spirit of struggle and consequently lose sight of this historic mission if it does not conquer the bourgeois remnants of our society. These always tempt it to substitute talk and image for action.

We have no right to guide and direct the people if we do not criticise ourselves incessantly.

« Aspects of the crisis of the party, 2 - January 21, 1956 ».

The military coup d'etats have failed in Syria by virtue of the existence of a popular overthrow movement in the true sense of the word... this movement, represented by our party, has not yet reached the level which would make it capable of preventing coup d'etats, but it has reached a point which makes it capable of resisting and foiling them.

« On the situation in Egypt, 5 - February 21, 1956 ».

The faithfulness of a person is not only demonstrated by intention and proclamation but also, and especially, by the forces on which he depends for the realization of his policy and by te method he uses for this realisation.

The faithful is he who always knows in every action he takes which powers are going to benefit from it, even if he has no connection with them.

« The rejoicing of the imperialist powers, 5 - Al-Baath - July 13, 1956 ».

Movements are stages on the road. If one of the most important factors in the formation the movement in which you are now... was that rebellious stand which our generation took some twenty years ago... when we refused to be content with facile and small gains to acquiese in the acceptance of the status quo and to bring the goals of the Arab nation down to the level of its present capacities or the capacities of its leaders... that same stand is required always from the Arab generations whether to correct the march of the present movement or initiate a healthier and sounder movement.

« The battle and the will of the nation, 5 - November 4, 1956 ».

It is necessary for the movement so that it can live in an alive and realistic atmosphere, and understand the various currents that operate in its society. We have on many occasions in the speeches of the Arab Baath and its writings touched upon the subject of the reconciliation of the vitality of the movement and its essence. How can the movement be essential, that is, be concerned with the substance and essence of things and at the same time be which responds a movement to its actuality and is connected to its time?

« The Arab Baath is a positive attitude, 2 - 1956 ».

We want to create conditions which the Arab spirit will find congenial and in which society will be secure. These conditions should precluve two deviations. The deviation of stagnation and tattered conservatism and the deviation of artificial progress which belongs to other milieus and therefore cannot respond to our needs or offer us any benefit or good. The economic problem is one of the most important aspects to which the national movement should give attention and look forward to solving for the satisfaction of the real needs, of the nation. In this field a small group is exploiting the majority of the people. It is the problem of feudalism and exploitation and the anti-nationalist socialism which does not understand the needs of this stage is an artificial response to it.

« The Arab Baath is a positive stand, 2 - 1956 ».

The movements which rise in a given society are either shallow and temporary or earnest and genuine. Both kinds are inevitably influenced by the conditions of time and place. But the quality of that influence determines the kind of the movement. When the movement is influenced negatively and exhausts all its potential and forces until it becomes submerged in its conditions, we consider it as one of the shallow and ephemeral movements. When the movement can be influenced by

the conditions without being submerged in them and can control, them in order to direct them, it is one of serious and genuine movements.

« The Arab Baath is a positive stand, 2 - 1956 ».

The party of overthrow is always liable to find on its hard and long way persons and groups who mimic its overthrow philosophy like false prophets. When in history true prophets rose with their true message, their emergence tempted false prophets to appear. This happens to the party too. In this case the party has to transform relapses into progressive steps which will increase the trust of the people in it, strengthen its struggle and deepen its experience.

« On the situation in Egypt, 5 - January 21, 1956 ».

When progressivism appears in countries in which the popular movement has reached a degree of growth, it becomes false progressivism, and imperialism will use it as a means to impede the march of the popular movement. When progressivism appears in countries our movement ha not yet reached and when it proves by its actions its seriousness, faithfulness and studied response to the needs of the people, it becomes remains but authentic exposed to the danger of being falsified, for imperialism and reaction which this progressivism touches without profoundly injuring will always try to attract it to their side, whereupon it will become a reversed progressivism and will no longer work form the overthrow. Our duty in this case is to show it the path which will be a serious lead in the direction of overthrow.

« On the situation in Egypt, 5 - January 21, 1956 ».

The party is not a government and a parliament. It is not a government that operates and a parliament that criticises, attacks and objects. The party of overthrow is the farthest thing from this image. It is an interconnected

and solid entity in which there is no difference between the leadership and the base. It has no place for the spectator, for the protester who does not perform his duty, or for the critic who gives himself all rights and absolves himself of all duties...

« Aspects of the crisis of the Party, 2 - January 21, 1956 ».

If we do not look at life with flexibility, reasonable toleration and healthy realism, as do those who have experience and suffered action; if we do not give life its due, it will take revenge by imposing its anarchy upon us and impeding the progress of our idea. Life is capable of changing the status quo of our nation and cultivating and planting something new and healthy in its place. If we reject this development it will be as if we bring an end to the hope of our idea penetrating into our actual reality and impregnate it. We shall be allowing the corrupt actuality to come back and be victorious... and the most cruel victory of the corrupt actual is when it proclaims the idea of the of overthrow, the new birth and the genuine idea.

« Our idea on the way of realisation, 5 - March, 1956 ».

The genuine movement cannot come as a response to an accidental condition in the life of the nation. Imperialism is an accidental condition. Feudalism is accidental and transistory, as is also sectarianism which allows shallow and trivial links to overcome fundamental and deep bonds. Regionalism which is the supremacy of local and secondary characteristics in regions and countries over the national ones is also transient. All these conditions are passive and have nothing of life. They are the consequence of the feebleness of life and its relaxation. When life becomes weak, trifles come to the surface.

« The Arab Baath is a positive stand, 2 - 1956 ».

The tragedy of Palestine would not have made this deep impression and would not have given such positive

results had it not been proceded, a few years ago, in Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon, by an Arab direction clear in its aims and based on new ideological foundations for struggle. It was these which have expressed the profound orientation of the Arabs at this stage of their history and the history of humanity. This direction has been represented by the Baath Party. The tragedy came as living model for this direction, confirming its correctness. It has enriched it and opened up before it the ways of expansion. This direction was the most important factor which transformed the attitude of the Arabs toward this tragedy from being negative, ending in dissolution and degeneracy into a positive attitude that shifts the calamity to an upward track for the development of the Arabs.

« The outcome of a stage in the struggle, 2 - December, 1956 ».

Our movement adopts the policy of stages but it conceives of it as a pressure on one point more than on others, but not as a confinement our efforts to one aspect to the exclusion of the other aspects. We do not limit our struggle to the fight imperialism, but we also work for socialism and unity. Conditions may be more amenable to the fight against imperialism more than to any other thing, but to confine ourselves only to the combat will kill imperialism against our very struggle.

« Questions and answers, 1 - 1957 ».

The stages, in our opinion, are in the application, not in the awareness. Awareness is indivisible. For this reason it has been necessary for the Arab people to see, since the emergence of the movement, the reality of their conditions and what decisive treatment they should receive. Therefore, where awareness is concerned, it is useless to adopt a policy of secrecy regarding objectives which cannot yet be realized.

« Questions and answers, 1 - 1957 ».

We have always said that we are nothing but expression of the maturity of our nation. We do not create the nation. It creates us. From it we derive our strength. We only translate its needs and aspiration and announce its will. Our strength would have been worthless had it not relied on the strength of the nation and on this consciousness which is present in every part of it that has been steeled by long experiences, deals and sufferings. Therefore similar experiences will inevitably give the same results in the various regions of the Arab homeland.

« The union of Egypt and Syria, 1 - February 20, 1958 ».

This movement was the first to put the national cause, the cause of the Arab nation, at the heart of reality, and make it the essence of earnestness, by putting the social problem at the centre of the nationalist revolution, by putting it in the forefront of the lives of millions of the Arab people, the subsistence of the tens of millions who were, and still are, largely paralyzed as a result of unjust conditions. The practical expression of the nationalist revolution is, therefore, the social revolution. The movement has posed the question of freedom in all its breadth and dimensions: freedom from imperialism, from the foreigners and their exploitation in all its forms, internal freedom which includes its political, social and intellectual aspects. The question of freedom, the awareness of the people and the awareness of individuals, the question of liberation, the importance of this question and its priority, have all been given a living, as you know, interaction and interrelationship by our movement.

« The unity is a historic revolution, 1 - February 23, 1958 ».

This movement began very modestly and the secret of its strength was that it arose from a genuine strength, and has not relied on any of the present powers which are all false. This movement was in fact a translation of preparedness and potentialities that were in existence but were concealed from the eyes of many.

This movement has been able to see clarity and innocence, free from vested interests, inherited conceptions, prejudices and selfishness. It has come to recognise strength where the majority was seeing only weakness and degeneracy. It has depended on this strength for it believed that it was a real strength. It placed its bets on the future. From the beginning, its outlook far reaching in every sense of the word. It was far reaching in depth, in space and in time.

« The unity is a historic revolution, 1 - February 23, 1958 ».

The genuine revolution is characterised by positiveness and self confidence. It does not content itself with reacting, by always focusing on the enemies, and enumerating their evils, baseness and crimes .The genuine revolution is that which first and foremost itself as regards the foundation and the great reality, and believes that imperialism and the external things are a consequence of inner weakness.

« The humanity of the struggle of the Arab nation, 5 - Baghdad - Late July, 1958 ».

There is a fact which if we overlook we will not realise the significance of the revolution and the revolutionary spirit. This fact is that life is something continuous .The future is born from the present, and our near and distant future is present in us, within our reach. We can make it by our actions, behaviour and thinking. It exists like the seeds and it will grow and ripen with time. Let us then look for the features of our future in our present. Let us see to what extent we are faithful to our revolutionary principles, not in words, announcement or writing but in application and experience.

« The humanity of the struggle of the Arab nation, 5 - Baghdad - Late July, 1958 ».

It is the nature of this modern Arab revival that its way be hard and it be tested from time to time by complex

and difficult problems. For it is a revival that long centuries have prepared, centuries in which the genius of the Arab people and its vitality were latent. It was inevitable that a genuine and humane revival should come, for it came after a long patience and waiting.

It is coming from a nation which is used to carring the message and viewing life as a mission. It behoves us, then ,to remember this feature of our new revival, especially difficulty of it so that our revival may become genuine. When remembering this we meet the problems with relish, for we see in them the way for the realisation of our objectives. There is a difference between our seeing the obstacles and our seeing them as our way.

The existence of the Baath and the necessity of its continuation until the end of the historical stage... until it delivers its message and completely realises its objectives... means that the Arab nation at this age cannot rise from its fall to realise the great potentialities of its people, to restore its historical place and deliver it message except through doctrinal, popular, disciplined and free action. This is the way and every departure from it exposes the nation and whatever is has realised over the decades to perdition.

« The historical necessity to which call the Baath has come to respond, 5 - June 15, 1959 ».

It is the first serious attempt to move the revolutionary forces in the Arab homeland within the framework of Arab objectives and along an independent Arab way. Our movement does not claim that it has created the revolutionary forces, for the Arab nation was living in a revolutionary stage before the appearance of our movement, but this movement has tried to give the Arab revolution its unified and comprehensive formula, and to put it at once in the atmosphere of the age in which it lives, the age of social and economic doctrines as well as in the atmosphere of the genuine Arab spirit.

« The historical role of the Baath movement, 1 - April 7, 1960 ».

The Arab Baath Socialist Party was destined to save the rising generations from being lost between regional prejudice and international revolution and put them in the centre of historic action by explaining the following facts to them:

1 - The revolutionary nature of this stage, and the futility of depending on revolution and partial reform.

2 - The realism of the revolution, its economic character and its reliance on the masses of the people.

3 - The unity of the revolutionary objectives, their interaction and the reciprocal influence of the liberation struggle, the socialist struggle and the unitary struggle.

4 - The comprehensiveness of the cause, the links that bind together the interests of the Arab people in all its regions and the necessity for unifying its struggle.

5 - Liberty as the deepest foundation and the strongest urge. Viewing nationalism as a live image of humanity and viewing the nation as an arena for achieving humanist values.

« The historical role of the Baath movement, 1 - April 7, 1960 ».

Thought is in itself a historic force, an incalculable revolutionary force. To put the nationalist Arab cause in a comprehensive ideological formula was the first task in building the Arab revolutionary movement on solid foundations. This ideological formula came into existence as a response to the needs of Arab youths in every region so that they could see the significance of the cause of their nation and its place among world causes. Hence this attempt which no doubt requires an increased effort, but which has been able to fill a vacuum in the lives of the Arab people in a number of its regions.

« The landmarks of progressive nationalism, 1 - 1960 ».

During the time of the union the revolutionary Arab vanguard lived the deepest and most violent crisis

in the history of its struggle. It has participated in a historic event when union took place between Egypt and Syria. But after a short time this vanguard has been disappointed greatly by the distortion and falsehood accompanying the implementation of that union. The crisis of the vanguard was aggravated and became more intense and complicated by its beladed realisation that it was equal to the task of a achieving unity, and that it would have corrected and protected it.

« Imperialism and reaction execute the biggest conspiracy against our nation, 2 - July 21, 1962 ».

I think that this is the most cruel suffering that could befall a man... a man who is committed to principles for which he fought so long and for the sake of their cause he devoted all his life. The most painful suffering is when he sees such an outrageous distortion of his ideas and principles that he almost denies that party was his party and that that movement was his movement.

« A speech to the meeting of the national leadership - January 19, 1965 ».

The revolutions spring from the party, but the party is above the revolutions and if revolutions commit mistakes, the party exists for rectifying them.

« In memory of the Ramadhan Revolution, 3 - February 8, 1965 ».

We did not accept and we shall never accept that the Baath revolution to be merely a rule and an authority enacting laws and issuing orders. The Arab youths in this vast Arab homeland have wanted it to be a humane historic movement which would satisfy all aspirations and the thirst for values and ideals in the Arab spirit; they have wanted it to restore the connection between our present and our glorious past and open before our people the possibilities of a genuine and humane future so that they will not remain dependent on other nations

imitate others or be enslaved, but renew the era of the Arab civilisation with all its humanitarian values.

« In memory of the Ramadhan Revolution, 3 - February 8, 1965 ».

The party which undertakes a historic task in order to bring happiness to a great people is not afraid to criticise itself and see its errors, for it knows that this is a fundamental pre-requisite for rectifying its line and for accelerating the achievement of its objectives.

« In memory of the Ramadhan Revolution, 3 - February 8, 1965 ».

When the party remains imprisoned and walled-in and when it does not become open to the people and does not contact the masses and work with them in the village and the city, in the factory and the school, when it does not become open to the Arab regions and when it does not come out of the regional cocoon to perform its mission for the whole Arab nation... when it does not become open in this way, this rivalry and conflict for positions will remain. History will not remember any of the names of those who are in strife if they remain at this level and are not uplifted, so as to be up to the message carried by Al-Baath.

« A speech to the branches - The Syrian Region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

After all that, how could we believe that this is the Baath Party, and that it has not been defaced and that no designs were worked out for changing it, not out of hate for the leaders but according to a devilish plan to strike at the cause of the Arab people? By dismantling this party and by abusing its past and its tradition in the struggle, the cause of the Arab people will be dealt a blow and this is the goal of imperialism.

- « A speech to the branches - The Syrian Region, 3 - January 18, 1966 ».

It is no longer permissible for the facts to be oblilerated, and for the innocent accused of the crime of the wrongdoers. What enthusiasm will remain in the combatent if he sees the evil-doers in his party being honoured.

« The starting point, 3 - June, 1967 ».

The starting point in rectifiyng the errors of the previous stage, as it appears to me, is the same starting point for action a quarter of a century ago: a return to the real fountainhead of strength... going back to the people telling them the fact candidly, making it responsible for the struggle along with the party... being frank with it about the actual facts although some of them may cause some embarrassing criticism of the party.

« The starting point, 3 - June, 1967 ».

Our party will not be able to pursue its historic role after its relapses and the national calamity which befell the Arab homeland, unless its combatants posit its cause and the cause of the Arab revolution as a matter of life and death, and unless they accept death as an ever renewed guarantee for the genuineness of the party and the gravity of its historic role in the present Arab revolution.

« The fifth of June and the chance for historic action, 3 - November, 1967 ».

Our party cannot exist except through attack and except through exposing its membres to risks. It exposes them to danger and to everything that tests their faith and revolutionary spirit as well as their genuine ethics, it will gain members and bind them to it. Nothing like the present conditions can assist the party in deepening its experience return to its genuineness and pursue its mission.

« The fifth of June and the chance for historic action, 3 - November, 1967 ».

The first stage in the life of our party, i.e. the past twenty five years, has one significance: that the Arab nation has been readied for a historic action.

« The fifth of June and the chance for historic action, 3 - November, 1967 ».

Revolution is for the happiness of man and his dignity. If man ceases to become the measure of the revolution and the link between them is lost, as the link between the means and the end is also lost, the revolution becomes distorted and it loses its meaning. The problem with the contemporary revolutions is the extremism which gives consideration to the importance of the objective factors at the expense of the subjective factor. This is the exact opposite of the ills of the revolutions of earlier times which exaggerated in their dependence on the subjective factor without giving the objective ones their due regard.

« The fifth of June and the chance for historic action, 3 - November, 1967 ».

False propagandas were on the verge of obliterating the truth until the truth of the Baath shone through the crime of February 23, 1966. It was then that the people knew that the party had been fighting deviation and corruption without capitulation during the three years preceding the crime. The people also understood that the party was so strong in faith, loyal to its objectives, concerned about its ethics, to an extent that those who had the arms and the machinery of government could not find reach for a settlement and understanding with it. They found it necessary, therefore, to commit that crime in order to keep power.

« The fifth of June and the chance for historic action, 3 - November, 1967 ».

The party has emphasized, from the outside that the Baathist will not reach the profound revolutionary

outlook except through the unitary stand, through viewing the nation as a whole which includes its actual backwardness. When the unitary view becomes absent, weakened or relaxed, and when the regionalist view has the upper hand, the fierceness of the revolutionary spirit weakens and consequently, revolutionary thinking and action will be reduced and lowered.

« The distant horizons of the revolutionary action, 3 - October 14, 1968 ».

The Party has achieved in this region an essential thing which inspires hope, optimism and confidence in the future. It has become an integral part of the soil of this country and the life of this people as a result of the true struggle and many sufferings sustained by you alongside the masses of the people ,as a result of the numerous sacrifices, the steadfastness in the darkest of times, as a result of the practice of struggle, truthfulness, earnestness and manliness in carrying the burdens an responsibilities of the struggle and opening it to the people so that there is no longer any barrier or distinction between the Party and the people.

« The new stage is a founding stage, 3 - October 23, 1969 ».

But what happened in Syria, comrades, was the result of a conspiracy not rashness vanity or in efficiency. It was a plot designed to change the features of the party, which was worked out about twc years before the March move, at the time of the union, when the so-called military committee was formed in Cairo by some Syrian military people who had a superficial connection with the Party.

They worked out a plan to take over the Party and after the March move, or after the military coup d'etat which took place in Syria in March and was instrumental in the rise of Ramadhan for which it paved the way and gave momentum.

« The Revolutionary Party is the image of the future of the nation, 3 - May 10, 1969 ».

For this reason, one of the most important requirements for the mature revolutionary leadership is this historical conception and this high spirit, this disinterestedness which insures harmony and brotherhood among the members of the leadership and projects itself on the Party, or rather, on the whole people. It shines with confidence, inspires respect and urges for sacrifice. Within its framework both the Party and the people live this genuine revolutionary experience, it is the atmosphere of disinterestedness, sacrifice and the pursuance of distant goals.

« The Palestinian question and the revolutionary solution, 3 - May 25, 1969 ».

We have greatly rejoiced in what you have accomplished in our struggling region (Iraq). We have been gratified by the efficiency which you have shown in your grasp of the lessons of the past, the lessons of calamities. You have been able, to a great extent, to protect your party, its structure and its march, to protect the new experiment you have undertaken against the various ills which befell the previous experiment. Nobody wants those ills to come back. We will not permit them to come back. Our determination in this should be tremendous and highly responsible. On it should be concentrated all our revolutionary spirit, all our faith in our nation and in its right to life. In this determination we should concentrate on the success of this experiment so that it would pursue its advance, free from the diseases of the past which should never be repeated, for we have existed and our party has existed to give self-confidence to our people, not to make them desperate, and not to show the unworthiness of the Arabs. If we relax and leave the experiment exposed to the ills and feebleness, this will happen. We have determined to make this experiment a starting point for the party and the Arab nation so that the party in this region and all the Arab regions can proceed from one victory to another and so that the Arab nation will regain its control over its

affairs in the face of the imperialist onslaught. Therefore, what you have succeeded in achieving has been reached through courage, patience and indefatigable work with the people, which is always the source that purifies the souls and elevates the morals and releases the gifts.

« The Revolutionary Party is the image of the future, 3 - May, 1969 ».

The vanguard is called upon to be in the front lines and to sacrifice. The masses will gradually wake up with every step taken by this vanguard.

« The Palestinian question and the revolutionary solution, 3 - May, 1969 ».

If the Party gives evidence of an extraordinary vitality and a continuous capacity for renewal and revival, it is because this Party is connected to the conscience of the Arab nation, from which it derives this power for rising, renewal and steadfastness, as it does from its sufferings, from its aims and from its obvious rights.

« The working class is the hope of the future, 3 - May 28, 1969 ».

We do not have yet the deadly weapons and inventions that imperialism possesses but we have the faith, we have the great number, we have the large and rich homeland, we have the spirit of sacrifice and the virtues which are not possessed by statioted countries which live on the exploitation of the weak peoples. We have a faith that is moved by the feeling of injustice, the feeling of our clear and certain right. We have the great number as we have this people which has been deprived and stifled but has started to remove its fetters and now feels, for the first time its strength, its capacity and its human forces.

« Palestine is the essence of the Arab cause, 3 - May 30, 1969 ».

Among the ills of the previous period, of the years proceding the June war, were exclusiveness, vanity and a kind of narrowness and fanaticism which deluded the regimes and the parties into believing that any one of them was capable of running the whole earth and governing the world; of making decisions without anyone's participation, and by antagonising all. The War and the relapse gave the profound lesson: the revolutionary action should not mean monopoly and exclusivity.

« The role of the working class in the Arab revolution, 3 - November, 1969 ».

The Party found itself, thereafter, faced with two choices or two ways and nothing more: either rule or be overcome and conquered; either be oppressor or oppressed. By oppressor is meant that it had to shoulder responsibilities and burdens which exceeded its capacity and its readiness and made it liable to inconsistency and laceration.

« The road to unity passes through Palestine, 3 - July, 1970 ».

There is no harm if the revolutionary movement has shortcomings and ills if it is determined to rectify its advance and to be delivered from its ills. The revolutionary movement is in the last analysis part of the potentialities, conditions and circumstances of this people which is our people. The people will recognise this by their healthy and spontaneous intuition if the movement becomes open to it, shares with them its advance and destiny and makes them bear their share of the responsibility for not only supporting and aiding the movements but also for participating in rectifying it and curing its ills.

« The masses are the guarantee, 3 - October, 1970 ».

Confidence and dignity are the most valuable things for the combatant. For he has accepted to expose him-

self to various risks and live the life of struggle. The urge and driving force of his life come only from moral values. The greatest calamity which may befall a revolutionary movement and destroy it is the loss of this spirit, the spirit of moral values which are confidence, love and dignity.

« The Baath before its experiences and its great tasks, 3 - February, 1970 ».

Let us take the Party out of rooms and halls. Let us take its principles, ideas, organisations, studies, plans, projects, enthusiasms, faith, and drives out of this narrow framework which gathers together a handful in leadership and conferences, and implant the party in the wide Arab soil and among the toiling masses. Let us sow the seeds and cultivate them daily.

« The Baath before its experiences and its great tasks, 3 - March, 1970 ».

Our Party in Iraq has always been distinguished by its perseverence, by its strong will power, and by its serious and profound undestanding of its national responsibilities. In spite of all the dark periods the party and the country passed through in spite of the relapses, no interruption took place, there was no halt. There were always some people to take over the responsibility. The party lost some persons but it was scon able to regain its popular impact and to increase in number because the feeling of responsibility has always been the urge in this party. I find it appropriate to mention this great merit of the party because I know its history and am myself following up its struggle.

« The comprehensiveness of the Baath idea is a daily living need, 7 - June 21, 1974 ».

In those circumstances coups d'etats took place which resulted in the participation of our party in the government without having effective control of the rule. Its

name was being exploited, its credit used while the leadership was for the others. The Party kept desperately resisting but the conspirators and the suspects had the upper hand. But we considered that relapse had two facets, the positive and valuable for it saved the party from confusion. It is true that after February 23 the Party was persecuted and overcome, and many of its combatants were put in prison, where they suffered beyond endurance. But one event was capable of balancing up all those sufferings and negative aspects. This was the clearing of the Party before the Arab masses in Syria and in all the other regions. The fact has been revealed. The rule during those years was not that of the Baath Party. The Baat Party took part in a certain way... It tested, defied and resisted corruption, resisted the process of laceration and falsification all of which were aimed at the destruction of the Party. It was a process unparalleled in the history of parties.

« The growing Arab capacity is able to stand up to the enemies, 7 - A speech to the Syrian comrades in Baghdad - June 23, 1974 ».

We must express our faith in our nation, in our Party and in our revolution by determination by increased activity, sacrifice, effort and by envisaging life as a continuous attack. The mentality of defence does not suit the mentality of revolution: continuous attack means initiative, it means that man surpasses himself by exerting his utmost efforts. It means that we always explore new areas to exploit for the enrichment of this revolution, the revolution of the Party. To increase the power of this revolution and its invincibility. We must increase the power of this revolution and its invincibility; we must give it light, a light that can later illuminate the whole Arab land and construct this experiment.

« The experiment of the Baath in Iraq is a starting point for the Arab revolution, 7 - June 24, 1974 ».

Yes, it is an extraordinary experience, that of the Party in Iraq. It is the experience of the Party which is

not going to be surpassed. Not because we have reached all our aims for we are at the beginning of the road. But this genuine beginning is the only one which will take us to the victorious end. Some minutes ago I said to our dear comrade Saddam that the idea of the Party was from the start a rigorous idea that required a rigorous revolutionary standard as you know from the writings in the early life of the Party. I told him that the conditons of Syria where the Party emerged were not of the same degree of difficulty and cruelty. It was natural that Arabic Iraq, with its tragic and cruel conditions, to be the starting point for a serious realisation of this idea.

« The experiment of the Baath in Iraq is a starting point for the Arab revolution, 7 - A speech to the advanced cadres of the Arab Baath Socialist Party in Baghdad - June 24, 1974 »

Printed in Italy
by Cooperativa Lavoratori
Officine Grafiche Firenze.
March 1977